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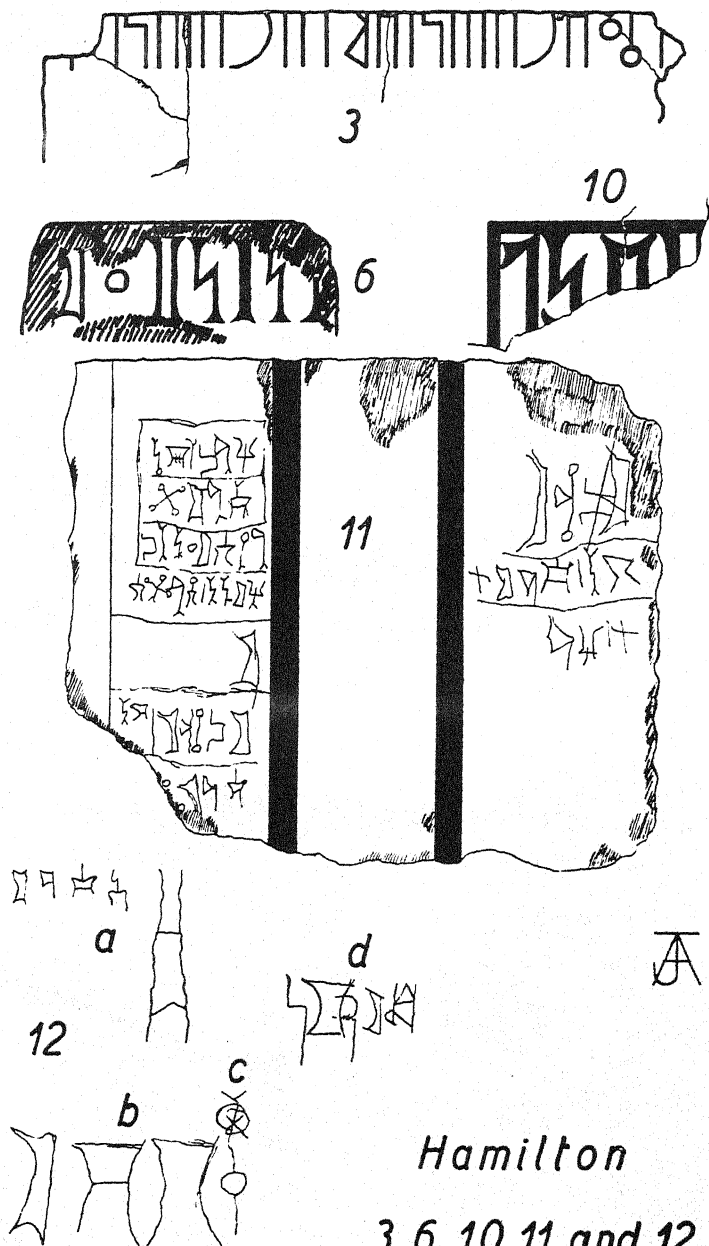
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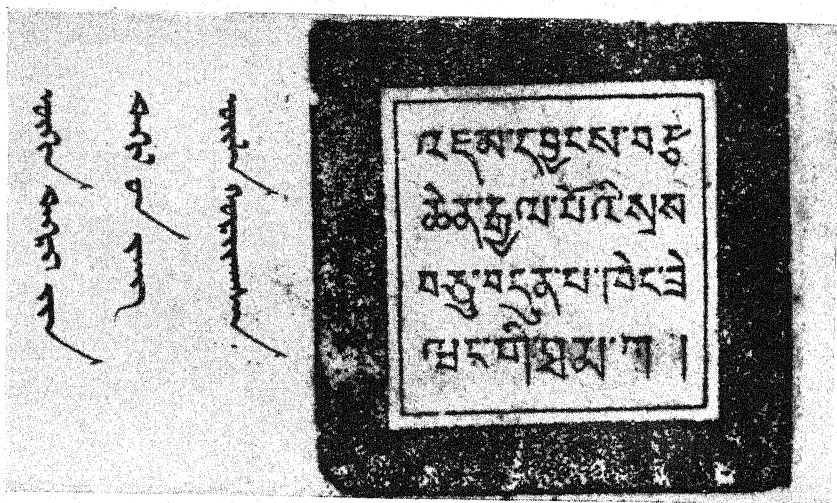
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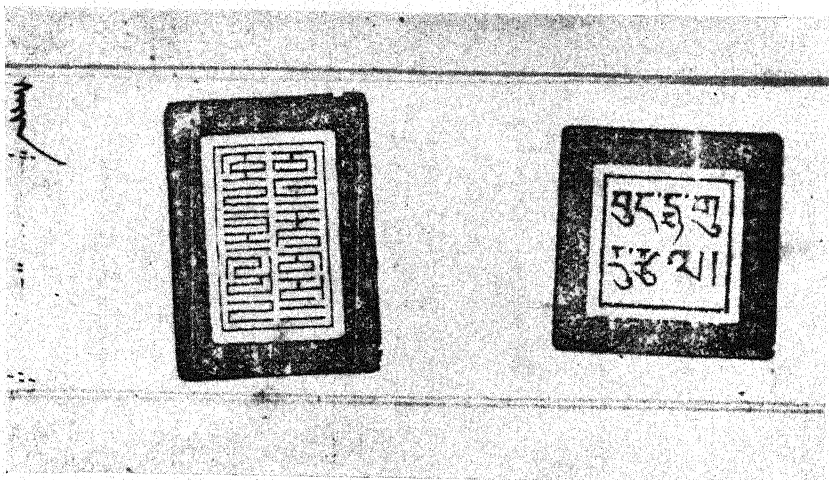


FOLIO 38 RECTO OF No. 5, SHOWING THE NAME OF THE K'ENG ZE ČIN WANG IN MONGOL AND TIBETAN SCRIPT.

॥१॥
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No. 3. SEAL No. 1.



No. 4. SEALS 2 AND 3.

FROM INDIAN WATERS : SOME OLD LETTERS

BY G. C. DUGGAN

THERE CAME INTO my hands last year a packet of old letters written in the latter end of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century mostly by members of the Irish family of Purefoy whose home was at Woodfield, near Eyrecourt, in the Co. Galway. Apart from those of purely domestic interest, there are a number written from India by James Purefoy who spent most of his life in the East as a merchant-ship-officer and trader. He went out to India in 1792 and did not return home for twenty-seven years. His extant letters were written either to his sister Mary or to her husband Robert Turbett, a Dublin merchant. Few as they are, they give a realistic if prosaic picture of the ups and downs of a merchant seaman's life during his inevitable long years of exile from his native land.

The earliest addressed to his brother-in-law was written about two years after his arrival in India, being dated from Bombay 10th January, 1794 :

"I had the pleasure of receiving your agreeable and entertaining letter upon my arrival in Bombay from China which was in October, 1793. Your account of the Revolution in France July 1792 was to me highly entertaining and at the same time informing as it was a particular I was very anxious to hear about. I am at present in perfect good health and spirits which I've enjoyed ever since my arrival in India : few I believe there are with whom the climate agrees better than with me, I'm now mate of a ship called the *Anna* of Bombay a vessel of about 800 tons burthen. She belongs to a Persian Merchant at Bombay, a man with an immense deal of money. He is owner of many large ships and trades very extensively. I've been one voyage in the *Anna* to China—the Eastern passage, which as it is a tract very few ships have gone, I shall give you a short account of it, as perhaps it may be a little entertaining and when you've nothing else to do you can amuse yourself tracing me on the General Map of the World."

The *Anna* sailed from Bombay on the 9th November, 1792, with a cargo of cotton for China. On 1st January, 1793, she passed through the Sunda Straits which separate Sumatra and Java islands "inhabited by Malays, a most cruel and treacherous set

close together for an immense extent of sea", the *Anna* called at Batavia for wood and water.

"Java is a low flat island very fertile. It abounds in the most delicious fruits in which no island in the world equals it, among the many is one called the manjustini which in my opinion is superior to any fruit in Europe. Here are the best pineapples in India. 'Tis also famous for its great variety of birds. There are various kinds of parrots of the most beautiful plumage that talk the Malay tongue and play a number of curious tricks. Batavia the capital is a large and handsome city about 5 or 6 miles in circumference. The houses are well built and the streets regular, through each of which there runs a Canal at each side of which are planted rows of trees close to the Houses which tho' it beautifies the place, yet it makes it very unhealthy."

They left Batavia on 13th January and made the island of Borneo three days later, "the largest in the known world." Cruising along the south coast past the islands of Pulo, Laut, Donderkan, and the Dualder, they entered the Straits of Macassar and crossing to the eastern side they skirted the island of Celebes. "We measured a mountain on this island with our quadrant and found it to be 60 miles high (!). We sailed along this coast and met with strong currents and contrary winds which detained us a long time. On the 18th of March we entered the Sooloo Seas and two days afterwards we made the Sooloo islands. In coming through these we were obliged to anchor every night. We landed on several of them for to cut firewood, etc., upon one called Basculon about 200 miles long. Here as we were up a small river the natives laid a plan for cutting off the boat's crew. While we were among these islands the heat was so very great that I almost lost my sight. All the skin came entirely off my face." Sailing up the west coast of the Philippine Islands, they cast anchor at Macao on 18th April and four days later moored at Whampoa, opposite the island of Hong Kong. "We remained at China 6 weeks and took a cargo of soft sugar, sugar candy, tea, silks, camphire, allum paint, nankeens, beads, and toothinague (?), etc." Sailing from China in June past the Bashee Islands (south of Formosa) they crossed to the east coast of the Philippines and finally reached New Guinea. "Here we met a gale of wind that drove us out of our course past the Pelew Islands as far as 135 degrees. Think what a vast extent of sea and land was then 'twixt me and you. We sailed through the Molucca or Spice Islands. After we left the Straits of Sunda we were chased by a French privateer but got away by being the best sailing ship. On

Sunday the 21st October we moored in Bombay our much wished for Port after our absence of near a year." The return voyage despite the fact that the ship was driven off her course had taken about a month less than the outward one. This letter was written in January, 1794, just before he was about to sail again to China and he implores his brother-in-law or his sister to write to him at least once a year.

In December, 1795, his father, writing to his daughter, says: "I had a most pleasing letter from your brother who writes in the greatest spirits and is doing well, being the second officer on board and expects shortly having the command of a ship. His pay now besides profit in trade, are sixty rupees a month. He has made himself I understand entirely by his own application master of Mathematics and Navigation, also the French language."

The next letter that has been preserved was written ten years later, and is addressed to his sister Mary from Madras on 24th July, 1805. It acknowledges a letter which she had written to him on 10th November, 1804, and after some comments on a family squabble between his brother Brinsley and their mother, he wonders how his sister had got into her head that he was likely soon to return home,

"otherwise than with an independency which I had every reason to expect in the course of a very little time, had I but succeeded in my last voyage from here to Cochin China. We were however cast away on the south coast of Hainan on the 13th November 1804 and saved most of the crew in the most miraculous manner. We travelled between 800 and 900 miles overland and arrived safe at Canton on the 17th February 1805. In this journey we suffered extremely for want of the common necessities of life etc. We have however one advantage that of travelling through a most delightful and fertile country and perhaps the most populous and best cultivated in the world under a wise and politic Government, notwithstanding it has got the name of being otherwise. As I fancy hitherto no European has ever had an opportunity of knowing anything about it, I may boast of being the only European that ever traversed through Hainan which in size is about as large as Ireland or thereabouts. It belongs to the Chinese Empire and is also extremely populous and well cultivated. In the course of one day's journey—about 36 miles—I have passed through no less than 10 large towns and walled cities in this Island. I mention this merely to give you some idea of its populousness. We had a small allowance from Government but hardly sufficient to subsist on. The morning after the ship was lost being somewhat refreshed with a little sleep though blowing and raining the whole night having the beach for our beds and surrounded by 500 or 600 armed natives (whose intention we had great reason to suppose was hostile), I got up a little before daylight (while the crew as yet lay scattered here and there on the sandy

bay being all of course extremely harassed from their fatigues on board during the gale) and going down towards the sea sat upon a rock abreast the ship where observing the many rocks, islands and banks through which we ran without either seeing or knowing anything about them (for it was now dead low water), I was struck with astonishment at our wonderful escape. I began however soon to reflect on my present situation and what were the most prudent measures to be adopted. My notice was soon attracted at seeing something floating from the vessel towards the shore. I went to retrieve it and had the good fortune to pick up some useful articles (?).

"There is a most striking contrast between India and China, the latter in fact is a perfect garden, the appearance of which covered with extensive fields of wheat, bere, barley, etc. afforded me a sight, I had not seen since leaving Europe. During our route through Hainan and China we passed through 21 walled cities and 256 large towns and villages, some of the former were 30 miles in circumference and from their own accounts contained between 2 and 3 million inhabitants. We always remained some time at each capital and had good opportunities of making every observation. I kept a regular journal from the time we left China till we arrived at Canton, the 17th February 1805, where had you seen me and my company I am sure you could not refrain from laughing at our appearance and dress which was half one thing and half the other and yet neither one thing, nor another. Notwithstanding all the ennui etc. that seem attached to a sea life, yet I like it amazingly and by far prefer it to any other. In short I'm always happier at sea than ashore. I should esteem it a particular favour if you could send me out a few Irish newspapers. I now belong to and sail out of this Port now 6 years . . . When I return to old Ireland I shall leave entirely to your choice and judgment, to recommend me a partner for life, the evening of which at least I should wish to spend in peace and tranquillity. With respect to age, fortune etc. I leave all these matters solely to yourself. All I request or desire of you is to inform me previously of her age and name though at the same time you may act for me though absent, for any engagement you may make on my part, I shall with pleasure perform and fulfil. I am determined never to lose my heart in India, that you may rely on assuring you that I shall remain till death.

My dearest sister,
Your affectionate brother,
JAMES PUREFOY."

After 1805 there is another gap in the extant letters covering a period of eight years. On 6th July, 1813, Captain Purefoy wrote to his brother-in-law complaining that though he had written numerous letters in 1812 and 1813 from the Isle of France, Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, he had heard nothing from home. He tells him that after his last voyage in the *William Petrie* from Port Louis and

Bengal he had to resign his command because he found his constitution broken by "a continued series of misfortunes and hardships", although he had been in the best employ he ever had the good luck to fall in with. He was going to Malacca "a delightful and healthy country" to see whether he could there recover his health. The change evidently did him good for in a letter written from Mazagon in March, 1819, to his brother-in-law and despatched "by free trader" he explains that he had been out of India for two years and had found that not only could he enjoy better health by going to sea and frequently changing climate but could save more money to help those at home.

Curiously in this letter I found two Bills of Exchange for £50 just as they left India in 1819. Though there were directions regarding their disposal, they had never been presented for payment.

James Purefoy seemed to have traded as a merchant when not in command of a ship.

"I came home from the Eastward on the *Shan Byramgore* (?) a new 800 ton ship commanded by Captain George Hammett who was formerly an officer with me in the *Griffin* in 1803 but has been much more fortunate in point of health etc. than I have. He thinks of returning shortly to his native country with a handsome independence. Should he from business or pleasure happen to pass your side of the water I would feel particularly obliged by any little attention you might show him. He has been very kind and attentive to me having given me a passage without making the smallest charge which has saved me 800 or 900 rupees. He is I assure you a worthy intelligent little fellow and a man of most excellent disposition. We have shared together many dangers and hardships both by sea and land. Captain Hammett's brother I think owns and commands a ship out of Appledore and trades a good deal to Dublin. I have had no employment since June 1815 and my prospects of getting a command are not very bright."

On the day after he wrote the above letter he sent another per the ship *Cyrus* to his sister Fanny Purefoy at the family home, Woodfield. How slow was the transit of letters in those days is shown by the fact that Fanny's letter of 9th September, 1817, addressed to him in Bombay and redirected to Malacca did not reach him till August, 1818. He is replying to it from Mazagon in March, 1819, having only arrived there the previous month after two years' absence from India. He sent periodical remittances home to his mother and unmarried sisters and in this letter expresses the hope that his mother "may live to see me occupying a room in the old mansion of Woodfield".

In June, 1819, Captain Purefoy was again impelled to write to his brother-in-law in order to put an end to gossip about his matrimonial intentions :

"I am told that my friends by some means or other (using the words of my informant) have discovered my attachment for Miss Ellen Hackett and of course conclude that it is my intention to espouse her on my return to Europe. But without entering into any discussion on this subject I have only to assure you on the word and honour of a gentleman I do not entertain the most distant idea of such a union, nor indeed have I any thoughts whatever of matrimony which under existing circumstances would be a measure highly imprudent." (A cautious man was James !) " 'Tis also said that I sent from India a parcel containing presents for this lady, but which I declare to you is by no means correct. The only article I ever sent home was the picture from China in 1809 and delivered you by Captain Wallace. I therefore hope that this matter is now set at rest for ever."

One wonders if this ungallant disclaimer was passed on to Ellen. Possibly she had herself spread abroad the tale in a spirit of mischievousness. Her father was Rector of Eyrecourt parish and her sister was married to a brother of James Purefoy.

In the same letter Captain Purefoy announces his intention of returning home. His friend and correspondent in Cochin China, M. Chaigneau, who was employed at the Royal Court there, having obtained permission from the native king on grounds of ill health, is returning to L'Orient, and all likelihood of Purefoy recovering debts due to him in Cochin China has now faded out. "The interest of money has now been up to 9 per cent for these 17 months past but on the 31st of next month is to be reduced to 6, the old rate, which is, I believe, the same as that in Ireland where the expense of living is I fancy little more than half of what it is in this country. There being no prospect of deriving any advantage by remaining longer in India, I intend to take my passage for Europe next December or January." In a postscript to his letter he mentions a dispute with a relation by marriage who was a chaplain in Bombay but does not appear to have been an ornament to his cloth :

"I have been obliged to cut with the Revd. Mr. Wade in consequence of his infamous conduct and behaviour towards me having first attempted to defraud me of near 700 rupees. By taking advantage of the confidence I placed in him as a friend and relation, by which he got possession of this money and retained it for near four years and when the business was discovered he did not appear to be in the smallest degree ashamed of the transaction. On the contrary he was

almost furious at being compelled to relinquish his Prey nor do I think he would ever have done so without legal measures. When I first asked for restitution of my property he positively refused to do so and made use of abusive and most ungentlemanlike language. I wrote him some time ago to say that all connection and intercourse between him and me must forthwith cease for ever."

This quarrel must have boiled up suddenly in the hot season for only three months before the Captain had mentioned with pleasure that "one of Mr. Wade's daughters, Charlotte, was very well married two days ago".

The last extant letter from Captain Purefoy is dated from Liverpool, 24th May, 1822. He is on his way from Ireland to London and writes to thank his brother-in-law for his kindness to him during his stay. But even when he was crossing on the packet from Dublin to Liverpool the sea played him one of its tricks,

"the packet having run aground on the north bank between 2 and 3 a.m. Fortunately however the wind was from the Eastward at the time otherwise it might have proved a disagreeable business. In waiting for the flood tide we amused ourselves in walking round the vessel and in so doing had an opportunity of picking up a variety of shells etc., the sand being quite dry and hard. In this occurrence no blame can be attached to Capt. Stewart who appears to be a very careful and attentive man and is an old Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. . . . Yesterday I went round the new dock lately opened here. It may I think be justly termed the finest in the world for size and depth of water (30 feet). There are now in this dock several very beautiful American ships of considerable tonnage and in fact the most perfect models I ever saw in which they certainly excel the English. Indeed I think there is reason to apprehend that America will one day be what England now is, the mistress of the sea."

A generation had in fact to elapse before England overtook the lead in merchant ship construction which the United States had secured from 1815 onwards, and then it was in steam not in sail.

Captain Purefoy does not appear to have returned to India. He died unmarried in 1846.

EARLY SIGNED ISLAMIC GLASS

By D. S. RICE

(PLATES III-VI.)

THE NOT INCONSIDERABLE quantity of fine Islamic glass surviving to-day includes very few signed pieces. A list of those bearing the names of their makers has recently been published by Prof. L. A. Mayer,¹ who called for additional information, his researches having produced only eight master-signatures. The last two of these do not concern us here ; (i) 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ar-Ramakī (or Zamakī) signed two lamps for a Mamlūk mosque founded in 730/1330, and (ii) Serkhosh Ibrāhīm was responsible for the glass windows in a mosque of Sulaiman the Magnificent (1557). The material reviewed in the present paper is limited to the period ending with the Fatimid dynasty.

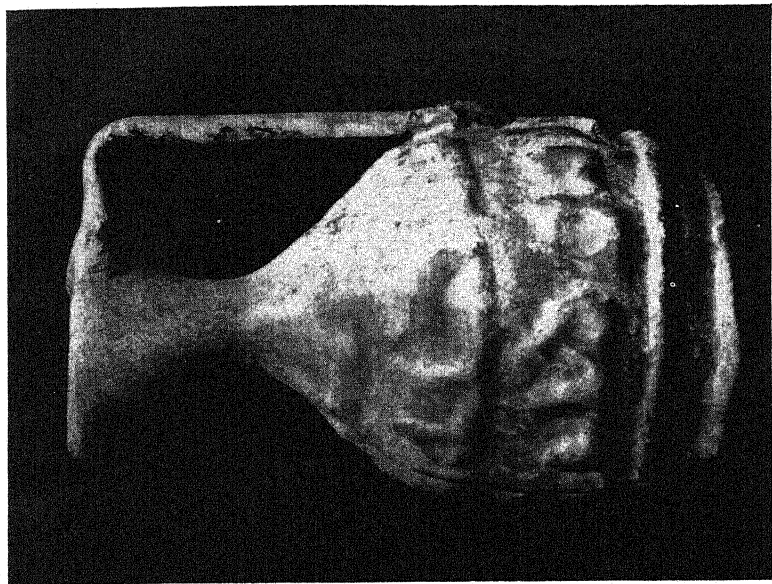
No reproduction is available of an object found in the Islamic levels during the excavations at Mersin. It is described as follows by Dr. Florence E. Day : " colourless glass spoon (?) eighth to ninth century has a kufi inscription ' Kasim made it '. The first letter of the man's name has rather the form of Arabic ' mim ' ; but Masim does not sound like Arabic while Kasim is a perfectly proper personal name." ² No information is available as to whether the name is stamped, moulded, or painted on the object.

Dr. R. Ettinghausen has compared a small fragment in Princeton with another in Cairo (Fig. 1a-b). Both have decorations in lustre paint which include some Kufic letters. He proposed to read the inscription on both fragments as the *nisba* (a)l-Baṣrī.³ This is completely convincing with regard to the Princeton piece (Fig. 1b) but not so certain for the other (Fig. 1a). Dr. Ettinghausen writes of the latter : " The Cairo fragment can easily be dated to the ninth century, as fragments of the same type were found at Samarra, which lasted only from 838 to 883. The long vertical stroke of the letter *ṣād* also has parallels in inscriptions on pottery from this

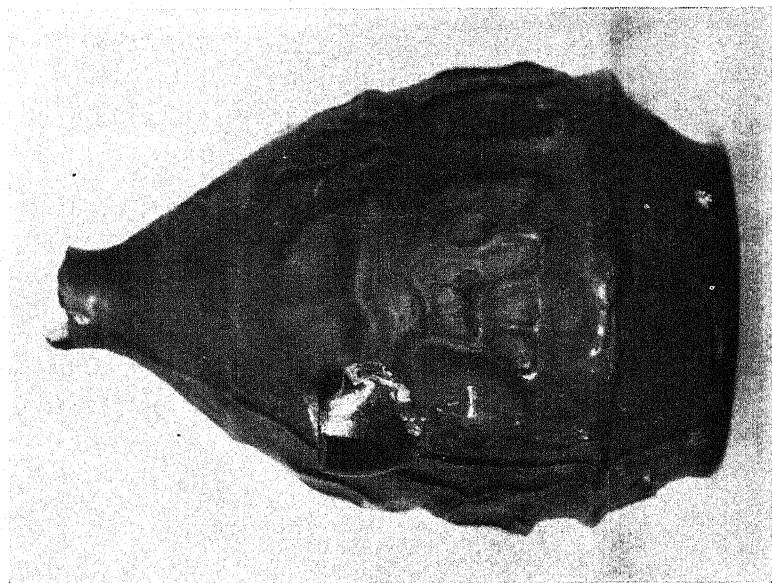
¹ L. A. Mayer, " Islamic glassmakers and their works," *Israel Exploration Journal*, iv, 1954, pp. 262-5.

² J. Garstang, *Prehistoric Mersin*, Oxford, 1953, p. 261.

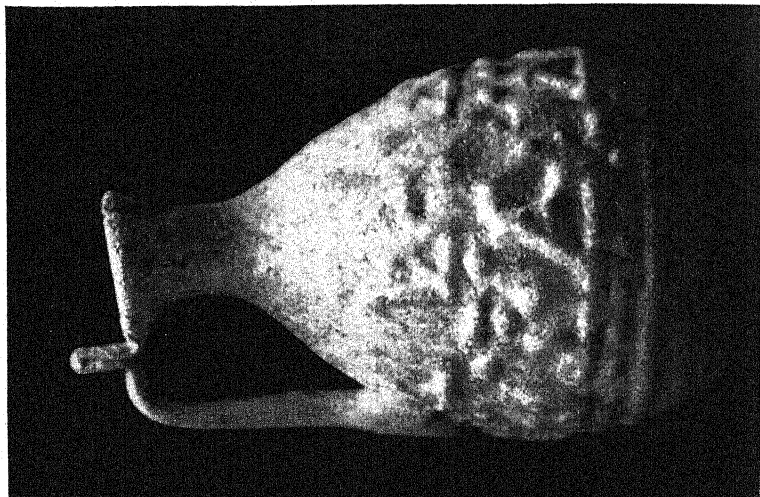
³ R. Ettinghausen, " An early Islamic glass-making center," *Record of the Museum of Historic Art, Princeton University*, i, 1942, pp. 4-7.



B. IN THE LOUVRE.



A. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



A-B. IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. A. CHURCHILL, LTD., LONDON.

century.”¹ The Princeton fragment, which is probably later, has more clearly defined letters. The *ṣād* has no final upright, nor is it provided with the little “tooth”, obligatory in later examples. It corresponds well in shape to the *ṣād* on glazed relief ware from Egypt.²

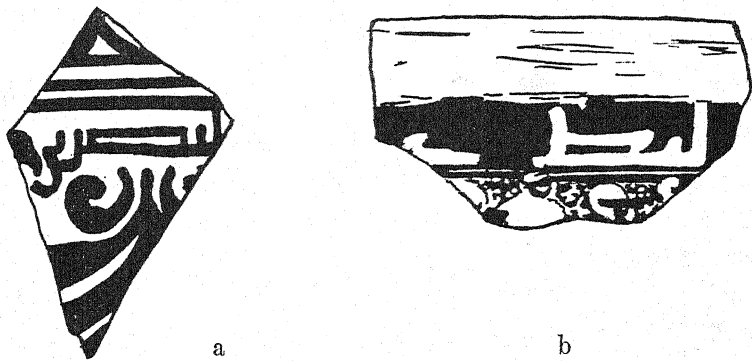


FIG. 1.

The Princeton and Cairo fragments, as well as a third signed *Sa'd* in the Benaki Museum, Athens, closely resemble lustre pottery. It may well be that the last piece is the work of the famous Fatimid potter *Sa'd* of whom we possess a number of signatures.³ Professor Mayer refers to yet another Fatimid glass maker 'Abbās ibn Nuṣair.⁴

All these signatures are painted, but we also have a group of signed, mould-blown, pear-shaped, ewers or juglets which may be dated to the ninth or tenth century A.D. Some actual moulds (but

¹ The long upright stroke at the end of the letter *ṣād* is indeed unusual, it is almost as long as the *lām*. The “parallels in inscriptions on pottery” to which the reader is referred in the above quoted passage, is an alphabet drawn by Herzfeld in F. Sarre, *Die Keramik von Samarra*, Berlin, 1925, fig. 174. But I have come to wonder whether the *ṣād* given in that table is really a *ṣād*. I failed to find it upon examination of the inscriptions given in the same volume. The only “text” which seemed to contain it is a small fragment of two letters (fig. 113 on p. 48), but there the first character can equally well, if not better, be read *kāf*—as in *baraka*.

² A. Lane, “Glazed relief ware of the ninth century A.D.,” *Ars Islamica*, vi, 1939, figs. 1D, 2C, 7. The name on the BM condiment dish must be read Abū Nuṣair. It is unlikely that the same potter should use a *ṣād* with a “tooth” in Abū Naṣr, and without a “tooth” in al-Baṣrī.

³ For examples see A. Bahgat and F. Massoul, *La céramique musulmane d'Égypte*, Cairo, 1930, pls. VIII–IX.

⁴ Mayer, op. cit., p. 263.

none to fit these vessels) are also available.¹ Like their antique counterparts, the Islamic moulds were made of clay.²

The first of these vessels to appear in print is now in the British Museum.³ It was originally acquired by E. Herzfeld and allegedly came from Kufa. The object is made of rather thick, coarse, dark-green glass and has lost its handle and neck (Pl. IIIa and Figs. 2 and 3). Near the base there are two signatures in plain Kufic which present no difficulty: "Work of 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm" عمل عمر بن ابراهيم. The decyphering of the larger inscription decorating the pear-shaped body, however, raises a number of problems. The upper line of script consists of the traditional "Blessing upon its owner" بركة لصاحبه (yet another *ṣād* without "tooth" or upright stroke). The second line might give the name of this owner. If so, the first word cannot be read *opus* عمل and the only possible alternative seems to be to read the three consonants عمر. A tracing made with the aid of an enlarged photograph (Fig. 3a) shows that Herzfeld's drawing (Fig. 2) should be slightly modified. The third letter is somewhat foliated on top and the rounded base returns on itself to form a small curl. These features may be seen, more fully developed, in the *rā'* of *baraka* in the upper line. The word might perhaps be read 'ammara (Allah understood) "very long age (from Allah) to . . ." or the passive 'ummira; but it must be admitted that no parallels for such an opening come to mind at present. Then follows the unquestionable words *Muḥammad ibn* . . . with the father's name or his *nisba* again far from clear. Lamm rendered it as al-'Azīr (?) and Herzfeld stressed that it was susceptible of a number of interpretations (mehrdeutig).⁴ In considering alternatives it should be emphasized that the letter coming after the article *al* in the last word is neither an 'ayn nor a *ghayn*, but should be read *fā'* or *qāf*. This is followed by a letter which could possibly be *ṭā'* or *zā'* but is more likely to be a *hā'*; there is a distinct upright bar in the middle of the oblong frame (Fig. 3b). The ending of the word is very indistinct. Here, one or two letters have not been

¹ C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, Berlin, 1930, i, p. 59; ii, pl. 13.

² D. B. Harden in *A History of Technology*, Oxford, 1956, ii.

³ Lamm, *op. cit.*, i, p. 59; ii, pl. 13 (6).

⁴ E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg, 1948, p. 280. (For "6.scl." an obvious misspelling read "4.scl.", see J. David-Weill, in *Syria*, 1952, p. 163.)

properly moulded, or have vanished when the clay moulds were separated. Possible readings are *al-Fahd*, *al-Fihri* or (if the reading *ṭā'* is retained) *al-Qubī* and many more.

Another specimen from the mould of this glass in the British Museum is in the R. W. Smith collection. It is described by its owner as a "light bluish-green mould-blown pitcher" and is

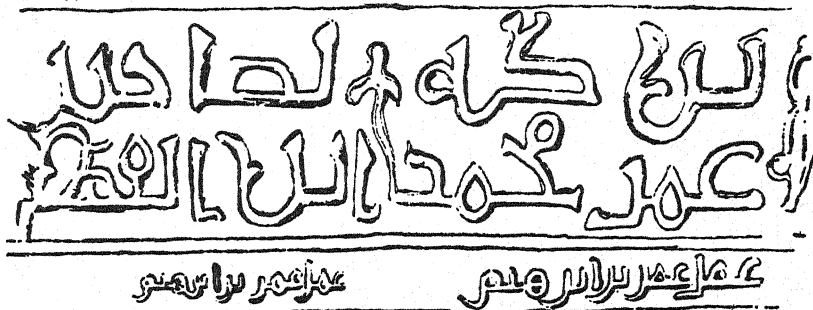


FIG. 2 (after Herzfeld).

reproduced in the catalogue of the recent exhibition of the collection held at the Corning Museum of Glass.¹

Should we read with Lamm against Herzfeld عمل as the first word in the second line we would be faced with two signatures on a single vessel. This is by no means impossible. One person may have been responsible for the mould, the other for blowing the glass. Clear parallels exist in a group of moulded, unglazed, twelfth-century potteries from Persia which I propose to publish shortly.

The Louvre possesses a mould-blown juglet of bluish opaque glass (height 9 cm.), complete with spout and handle, which is here reproduced for the first time (Pl. IIIb).² The Kufic text in relief, for once, offers no difficulty: "Blessing upon its owner. "Work of 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm" بركة لصاحبه عمل عمر بن ابراهيم. The name of the maker is the same as that on the British Museum glass, yet it does not seem to me that the signatories are identical.

¹ R. W. Smith, *Glass from the Ancient World*, Corning Museum of Glass, 1957, No. 469.

² I am indebted for the photograph reproduced here to M. Jean David-Weill, who discussed the object fully in *Bulletin des Musées de France*, July, 1937, pp. 103 ff. He also expressed himself in favour of dating the specimen in Paris earlier than that in the British Museum.

The script on the London piece is more "advanced" and almost "foliated", and it could easily be half a century or more later than the bold, unadorned characters on the Paris piece.

All the specimens discussed so far are listed in Prof. Mayer's article.¹ To these I wish to add four more pear-shaped, miniature ewers which originate from a single workshop. I came upon the

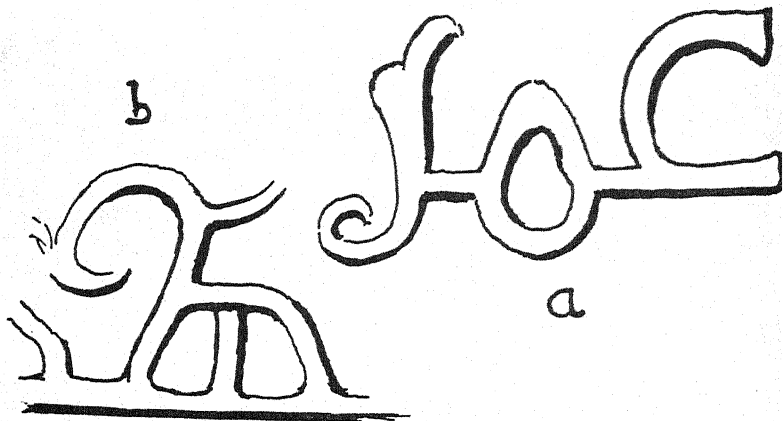


FIG. 3.

first in the Toledo Museum of Art (Ohio) in 1953 (No. 723.443 ; h. 11 cm.) (Pl. IVa-b).² The mould-blown vessel is made of clear, yellowish glass and has lost its handle. It is also strongly weathered and iridescent. There are two lines of plain Kufic in relief which can hardly be later than the tenth century A.D., and may well be a century earlier. With the help of moulds and casts kindly prepared by Mr. Robert Hamilton, it was possible to establish the outlines of all the visible letters, but one or two letters are concealed by the

¹ A number of glass fragments in the R. W. Smith collection, op. cit., item No. 500 in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo (No. 8190), and in Berlin (No. I-4381) show a single word *حسام*, repeated several times (on the Cairo piece, cf. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, pl. 19 (5)) or isolated, on the specimen in the Smith collection. The reading *Hishām* which has been advanced tentatively is quite impossible, the first letter being a clear *ha*. *Husām* is just possible but does not account for the extra "tooth" after *shīn*. The name is not preceded by the word 'amal and is, on one occasion, repeated several times it may not be the name of a craftsman and has therefore been omitted.

² Permission to photograph and study this object was kindly granted by Mr. Blake-More Godwin, Director of the Toledo Museum of Art.

superimposed handle (Fig. 4). The lower line adds a new master-signature to the existing list : عمل طيّب (or طلب) بن احمد بن مسي : " *Work of Ṭayyib (or Ṭ(ā)lib) ibn Aḥmad ibn. M. . . ?* " The reading *Ṭayyib* is possible although this name normally takes the article *al-Ṭayyib*. I prefer this reading to *Ṭ(ā)lib* with a concealed *alif*, because I am not aware of another instance of this particular name being spelt in this manner ; whereas it is almost the rule in names such as *Ish(ā)q*, *Q(ā)sim*, *Ṣ(ā)lih*, *H(ā)rūn*, etc. The outlines of the last word in the lower line are perfectly preserved, yet it is difficult to offer a convincing reading. The first letter must be a *mām* and the last a *yā'*. If the central character is a single letter, only *sām* or *shām* are applicable, but if each "tooth" represents a letter a variety of combinations is possible. *Masā*, *Mashā*, *Mushī'* fail to satisfy. The temptation is great to read the word *Mutanabbī* and almost irresistible if one recalls that the great poet of this name was called Abu't-Ṭayyib Aḥmad al-Mutanabbī (ob. 354/965). Mutanabbi was of humble origin—his father was a water carrier, could one of his grandchildren have become a glassblower ? Would he have omitted the article before *Ṭayyib* and before *Mutanabbī* ? And, above all, would he have used the nickname of his ancestor ? It is wiser to avoid speculation on this subject, and temptation too. The upper line on the Toledo juglet adds further problems. I read it

مما عمل ل...[م] ير ببغدا [د]

" *Of what has been made for . . . in Baghdā(d).* "

The first two words require no comment ; the middle portion of the third almost certainly begins with the preposition *li* "for", but its middle portion is covered by the base of the handle. The last syllable may be a plural ending *ir*, *mīr*, or possibly *in*, *mīn*. The only plausible reading which I can find for the last word is *Baghdā(d)*, assuming the final *dāl* to have been lost in the joint between the two halves of the mould. For several years I considered the Toledo juglet to be unique : *the only known Islamic glass with indication of its provenance epigraphically recorded*. On this ground alone it would have deserved publication. Then, in quick succession, I found three further specimens with the same text.

One is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹ New York. Eisen and

¹ I owe the facilities for photographing and studying this juglet to Mr. James J. Rorimer, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

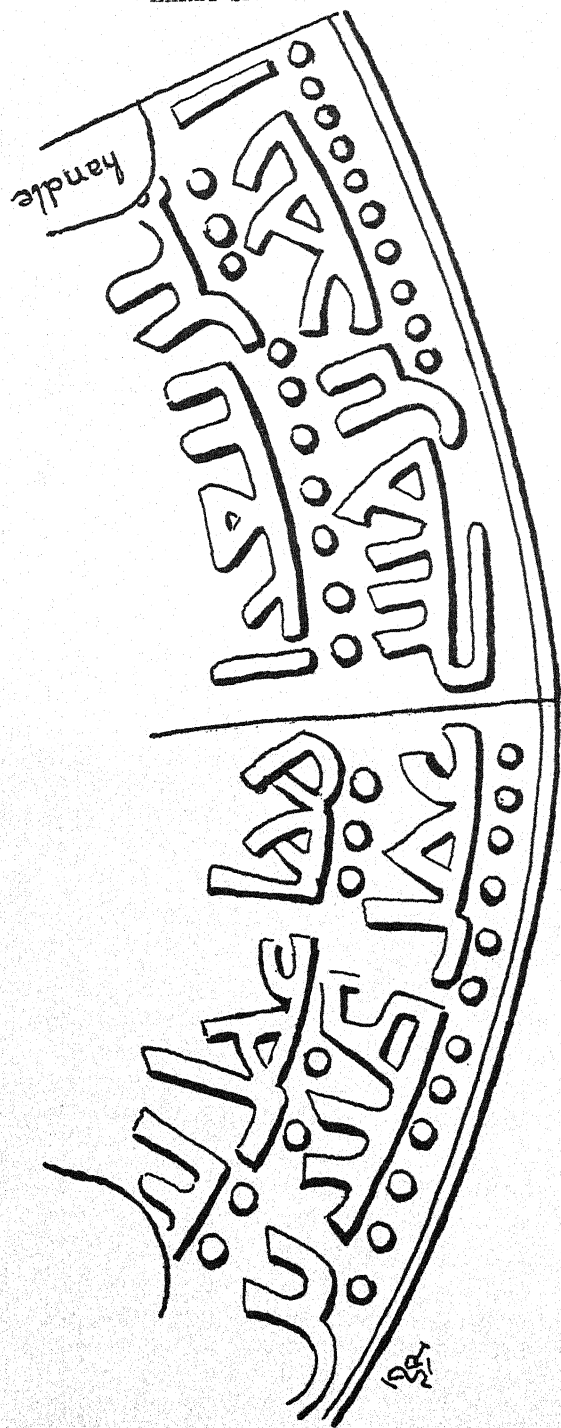


FIG. 4. (life size).

Kouchakji describe it as follows: "made of moulded, uncoloured glass with indistinct raised letters of unknown character . . . The pointed beak tip is found on flasks with spear and bar mouldings of the fourth century. The date is therefore uncertain with probability of the fourth century."¹ For fourth century A.D. we can now substitute fourth century A.H./tenth A.D. The glass in question is a slightly smaller version of the Toledo piece (Pl. Va). The museum has no record of its provenance (No. X.21.19) (h. 10.5 cm.). The inscription is that of the Toledo glass, but there is an additional *lām* before Ṭayyib—still only half the article which one might have expected. Moreover the dots which underline the script are differently spaced, and it is certain that a different mould was used. In the New York piece the base of the handle conceals the two last letters of bi-Baghd(ād), having been placed over the second joint of the moulds (see the line in the middle of Fig. 4), leaving unmasked the whole word which precedes bi-Baghdād. Most regrettably, however, the crucial letters were damaged in the joining and I have been unable to make anything of them.

A third specimen was shown at the 1956 glass-exhibition held at Zürich by its owner Mr. Ernst Kofler of Lucerne. He has very kindly provided me with the photograph reproduced on Pl. Vb and with a photograph of a cast moulding of the inscription. There is no doubt that his piece came from the same mould as that in New York. It has the additional *lām* before Ṭayyib and is slightly smaller than the Toledo juglet. Here, too, the handle is placed over "Baghdad" but once again the word preceding it has defied decyphering. It is certain, however, that its last syllable begins with a *mīm*.

The fourth and (but for a slight damage to the beak) the best preserved of the lot, belongs to Messrs. A. Churchill, Ltd., London.² Though slightly weathered and iridescent, the letters of the inscription on this specimen stand out much more clearly than on the Toledo piece which it resembles in every detail (Pl. VIa-b), it is clearly a product from the same mould. Once again the last *dāl* in *Baghdād(d)* is missing.³

Madīnat as-Salām and not the older Baghdād appears on coins

¹ G. A. Eisen and F. Kouchakji, *Glass*, New York, 1927, i, pl. 55d; ii, p. 609.

² Cf. E. Barrington Haynes, *Glass*, London, 1948, pl. 8b. I am indebted to the late Mr. Haynes for permission to take the photographs reproduced on Pl. VI.

and *ṭirāz* bands.¹ This type of inscription was no doubt made to conform strictly to the official protocol and the name chosen by Manṣūr for his new capital was used throughout. The same rule need not have applied to the epigraphy on objects made for private customers. The earliest history of the 'Abbāsid capital, written by Abū Ṭāhir Ṭaifūr (ob. 280/893) is entitled *Ta'rikh Baghdād*. Baghdād, not Madīnat as-Salām, figures on textiles of which pieces are in the Museum of Fine Art, Boston,² the Cooper Union Museum³ and the treasure of St. Isidore at Leon.⁴ These pieces are now recognized by most scholars (on technical, stylistic, and epigraphic grounds) as Spanish imitations. It stands to reason, however, to assume that the models before the imitators also had inscriptions with Baghdād not Madīnat as-Salām. To the handful of this city's remains from the early period of its splendour we can now add four glasses made by the same craftsman but in two slightly different moulds. It confirms the existence of a glass industry in Baghdād, known hitherto only from literary evidence.⁵

The juglet was previously in the Eumorfopoulos collection. It is doubtless identical with the one described by C. J. Lamm, *Das Glas von Samarra*, Berlin, 1948, p. 41, as a "Henkelkanne mit degenerierter Inschrift in einem Fries um den Leib". The same author in a later work (*Mittelalterliche Gläser*, i, p. 59) refers to three such pieces in the Eumorfopoulos collection. A. Churchill, Ltd., possess in effect a slightly smaller specimen. It may be one from the mould which produced the New York and Lucerne pieces, but the inscription is so badly weathered that I cannot affirm this. There is no trace of the third item mentioned by Lamm.

³ At one time I had considered looking for the missing *dāl* in the first letter on the second half of the mould and reading *mā 'umīla* instead of *mimmā 'umīla*. But, after examination of the London example, where the letter is clearer than on that in Toledo, I have decided against this reading.

¹ Cf. the coin catalogues and E. Kühnel and L. Bellenger, *The Textile Museum, Catalogue of dated ṭirāz fabrics*, Washington, 1952, p. 122, and the examples (none before 300 A.H.) quoted there.

² H. E. Elsberg and R. Guest, "Another silk woven at Baghdad," *Burlington Magazine*, lxiv, 1934, pp. 270-2.

³ D. G. Shepherd, "The Hispano-Islamic textiles in the Cooper Union Collection," *Chronicle of the Museum for the Arts of Decoration of the Cooper Union*, i, 1943, p. 365 and fig. 7; also the corrections of F. E. Day, in *Ars Orientalis*, i, 1954, p. 191 f.

⁴ F. Kendrick and R. Guest, "A silk fabric woven at Baghdad," *Burlington Magazine*, xlix, 1926, pp. 261-7.

⁵ Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser*, ii, 498.

A STRANGE RULE OF SMṚTI, AND A SUGGESTED SOLUTION

BY J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT

SINCE THE PERIOD between May, 1955, and December, 1956, when the Hindus of India lost their system of "personal law", and the latter was replaced by a new system comprised in the so-called "Hindu Code", the Sanskrit books which contain the accumulated learning of the *dharmaśāstra*, or so much of the ancient Indian "science of religious-and-civil law" as survives the ravages of time and the neglect of private owners of manuscripts, have ceased to be the fundamental source of Hindu law, and it is only in marginal contexts that for practical purposes reference to them will ever again be-made in that country. Yet the relegation of their ancient learning to practical uselessness may be expected to have a beneficial effect on the study of the *dharmaśāstra* itself, and that literature, which has been widely neglected in all continents, may once again receive the volume of attention which it could command about eighty years ago. About that time it was still very doubtful what the *śāstra* had to say on topics of practical importance, and Bühler and Jolly, for example, could be sure that their researches, despite their predilection for the ancient and the "original", would be of use in the Courts in addition to providing material for academic exercises. By the end of the first decade of this century it was evident that at least as far as British India was concerned the law was about to develop along lines which were to a certain extent incompatible with the *śāstra*, and the relation of academic study to practical advocacy became intolerably delicate. Cases might occur in which elaborate *śāstric* learning was required, and would gain its reward; but these were a small minority amongst the mass of decisions which were more or less cheerfully given in an atmosphere of indifference towards the *śāstra* which an English statute had made the fundamental source of law for Hindus in matters of their most intimate concern. Simultaneously public rewards for an expert knowledge of the *śāstra* had been diminishing, and Indian Universities on the whole neglected to provide courses on and examinations in *dharmaśāstra*, or *smṛti*, as it is often called. Even in the cases of the honourable exceptions, the careers open to those who had mastered what

was admittedly a difficult subject were so few or so narrow that a flow of able students was not to be expected. The revolution of 1955-6 may now be expected to modify the situation in the West, and in course of time this alteration in academic prestige cannot but affect trends of interest in the country where the subject took its birth.

It is the purpose of this article to draw attention by means of an example to the sort of problem which is repeatedly posed by the *smṛti*-texts which form the basic working-material of the *śāstra*; and to suggest to those who may be intrigued by the way in which it arises not merely that there exists a need to search for an intelligible solution, but also that there is a likelihood that such a search, if suitably directed, may meet with success. The *śāstra* contains many oddities which may only be understood after elaborate literary studies in other fields of Indology, or through the often more rewarding process of sociological "field-work" in Indian villages¹; but this example is illustrative of the substantial class of problems which may perhaps be solved by looking into the books of the *śāstra* themselves.

One of the most striking (and perhaps for some years to come the most troublesome) of the innovations introduced by the Hindu Succession Act, 1956, was the abolition of the so-called Hindu women's limited estate, and the substitution in all except special cases of an absolute estate for women.² This was part of the programme to place women, so far as was deemed necessary or practicable, upon an equal legal footing with men. When this has been rendered a living reality amongst the mass of the Hindu population (an event which cannot be anticipated within a lifetime) the end will have been reached of a process of development from a situation in which women were denied any right to *own*, as distinct from enjoying, objects of whatever character.³ That they became the beneficiaries of generosity long before the arguments against their

¹ The student of the *śāstra* is able to take advantage of the modern trend of social anthropology in India away from the exclusive study of tribes and towards a broader survey of the population.

² Section 14 of Act XXX of 1956. The "women's estate" was a topic of law of such magnitude that it occupied sixty pages in the current edition of Mayne on Hindu Law and Usage.

³ The *locus classicus* on the subject is Jaimini, *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, vi, 1, 10-14. The text with Śabara's commentary is conveniently printed in Lakshman Śāstri Joshi, *Dharma-kośa*, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, Wai, 1938, 1424. Reference to this most useful modern digest will be made below as *Dh.k.*

being owners were consciously formulated goes without saying. But in course of time the usefulness of permitting women to own in their own right impressed itself upon Sanskrit jurists, and it was admitted that certain classes of presents, defined according to their sources and the times when they might be given, should belong to the donee¹ in such a way that their abstraction by her husband or sons would be a conversion, subject always to the former's right to take them in an emergency.² In other words the strict theory of patriarchal Āryan law broke down in the face of the demands of practical utility, and no doubt under the influence of pre-Āryan customs, some of which we know allowed substantial proprietary rights to women.

For at least a millennium and a half it was a matter of acute controversy whether women might inherit property, as opposed to their being donees of gifts *inter vivos*. No one ever doubted, of course, that they were entitled, so long as they did not remarry, to be maintained adequately either out of the joint family property belonging to the deceased husband and his agnates or, alternatively, by his heir, if any. This was not always satisfactory, but the consequences of permitting a widow to disrupt the joint stock and to carry away her share possibly into the bosom of another, and even a competitor family, were more than the average Hindu could bear to contemplate. Yet authors of the greatest respectability, perhaps influenced by Dravidian usages, declared that the widow and the daughter were heirs to a sonless man.³ Though the daughter's position was relatively unchallenged the majority of the *smṛtis*, including Manu, could find no place for the widow as heiress. It became a work of art to reconcile the conflicting texts, which were of equal authority. Some thought that the widow should be understood tacitly to decline in favour of the agnates⁴; some that only a widow of special, and in some areas rare, qualifications might inherit: thus she must be free from potential as well as actual blemishes of character (!)⁵; she must be about to bear a son, or be willing to submit to *nīyoga*, that is to say to bear a son to her

¹ Manu, ix, 194; *Dh.k.*, 1431b.

² Yājñavalkya, ii, 147; Devala, *Dh.k.*, 1461.

³ Yājñavalkya, ii, 136; Viṣṇu, xvii, 4; *Dh.k.*, 1470a; Vyāsa, *Dh.k.*, 1524a.

⁴ Aparārka's commentary on Yājñ., ii, 135-6.

⁵ Ibid. This is not quite so foolish as it appears. Public examinations of childless widows were held in southern India according to the testimony of Medhātithi, *Manu-bhāṣya*, ed. Gangānāth Jhā, ii, 73; trans. *idem*, iv, pt. 1, 10.

deceased husband at the command of the family elders by some near agnate of the deceased¹—though since *niyoga* was nominally obsolete in the current epoch the qualification was such as to remove the problem totally—and finally it was suggested that she must have been married in an “approved” form.² Alternatively others permitted her to inherit provided that she accompanied her husband’s corpse upon the funeral pyre!³ Others more rationally restricted her right to movable property,⁴ or to cases where the estate was very small and her right to maintenance in jeopardy.⁵ Finally, the celebrated *Mitākṣarā* reconciled the texts by allowing her to inherit when her husband was “separate”, that is to say, she might take his share in the joint estate if it had already been ascertained that no more harm could be done thereby to the agnates.⁶ The Hindu Succession Act, by contrast, aims to equate the inheritance-rights of males and females, and the latter are entitled to claim their shares unless, in a few cases, they have remarried prior to the opening of the succession. The widow’s vested rights in the joint family estate were first created in 1937.⁷ Until that date the rights of a female to inherit had been the subject of a prolonged and obstinate struggle; she obtained the right to inherit from the Sanskrit jurists long after she had obtained the right to own property, but the latter had been accorded to her the more readily for the known obstacles to her attaining the former.

¹ Viśvarūpa (on Yājñ., ii, 139, p. 241) does not allow a non-pregnant widow to inherit, but if a daughter is born she may hold the property in trust for the daughter. That *niyoga* alone qualified the non-pregnant widow was the view of King Bhoja, *alias* Dhāreśvara, whose opinion is immortalized in the *Mitākṣarā* (Colebrooke’s trans., II, i, 8).

² An artifice of Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa in the *Smṛti-candrikā* (pp. 290–1). As an Āndhra or Tamilian he knew perfectly well that most marriages in his part of India were celebrated in the Āsura, an unapproved form.

³ The view of a certain Udayakara commenting upon Manu, and referred to in the *Vivāda-ratnākara* (p. 590) and the *Vivāda-cintāmaṇi* (p. 237; *Dh.k.*, 1514b). The reference in the latter text is obscured by the translation of Gangānāth Jhā, Baroda, 1942, at p. 267, whereas the old translation of P. C. Tagore (Madras, 1865, p. 290) faithfully preserves it. Steele reports a custom in the Deccan tending to confirm such a practice, and there is an inscription in Mysore, one amongst many *sati*-stones in the north-west of the State, relating that despite the repeated deprecations of her relations the lady commemorated burnt herself on her husband’s pyre, *having first distributed all the property* (evidently her husband’s estate).

⁴ *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, sections 512–5 (Foulkes’ edn.).

⁵ This was the view of Śrīkara and others, refuted in the *Mitākṣarā*, II, i, 31.

⁶ II, i, 39.

⁷ The Hindu Women’s Rights to Property Act, 1937, repealed by Act XXX of 1956.

While the process was in motion Kauṭilya, who is generally believed to have written during the fourth century B.C., wrote ¹ :—

vr̥ttir ābandhyaṃ vā strī-dhanam | para-dviśāhasrā sthāpyā vr̥ttih |
ābandhyāniyamah | |

“‘Females’ property’ consists either of their maintenance or their ornaments. Maintenance should be fixed at not more than 2,000. Ornaments are not subject to restriction.”

Kātyāyana, author of a *smṛti* greatly respected for its detailed practical provisions, living perhaps two centuries later than Kauṭilya, says ² :—

pitṛ-mātṛ-pati-bhrātṛ-jñātībhiḥ strī-dhanam striyai |
yathā-śaktyā dvi-sāhasrād dātavyaṃ sthāvarād ṛte | |

“‘Females’ property’ should be given to a woman by her father, mother, husband, brothers and kindred according to their ability, within 2,000 ; this is over and above landed property.”

The proviso contained in the last words was differently interpreted by old writers hostile to the widow’s claim to succession in particular and to the ownership of landed property by females in general. The words *sthāvarād ṛte* to them could mean nothing but “to the total exclusion of immovables”. But since “2,000” can only refer to coins the other translation is more logical.

Vyāsa, whose age is not more certain than Kātyāyana’s, but who is not probably older than the first century B.C., says ³ :—

dvi-sāhasra-paro dāyaḥ striyai deyo mṛtasya tu |
yac=ca bhartrā dhanam dattam sū yathā-kāman āpnuyāt | |

“But the inheritance of a dead man to be given to a woman is limited to 2,000 ; and whatever property was given to her by her husband she may retain at her pleasure.”

¹ Trivandrum edition, ii, p. 14 ; *Dh.k.*, 1430a. MM. Gaṇapati Śāstrī understood the word *para-dviśāhasrā* as *kārṣāpaṇa-sahasra-dvaya-paramāvadhiḥ*, that is to say, “having as its upper limit 2,000 *kārṣāpaṇas*.” As we shall see the insertion of the coin chosen is wrong, although the *Smṛti-candrikā* and *Nṛsiṃha-prasāda* provide precedents (*Dh.k.*, 1454b), but the interpretation of the compound is correct. Dr. Shāmasāstry in his trans., Mysore, 1929, p. 172, wrongly says, “above two thousand.” Since the king is advised as to what amount ought to be given to women the limit must be a maximum and not a minimum, as the reference to ornaments shows.

² Kane’s edn., 902 ; *Dh.k.*, 1454b. The *Smṛti-candrikā* reads *dvi-sāhasraṃ*, implying that the full 2,000 ought to be given, and not more.

³ As Colebrooke notes on *Jimūtavāhana*, *Dāyabhāga*, trans., IV, i, 10, this text is variously read. See below *re* Lakṣmīdhara’s reading, and the citations given in *Dh.k.*, 1460a. *dvi-sāhasra-paro* could mean, “more than 2,000,” and doubtless was adopted by many jurists with that object in mind.

The *Mahābhārata*, in a passage which may be no earlier than Vyāsa the law-giver, says ¹ :—

dvi-sahasra-paro dāyaḥ striyai deyo dhanasya vai |
bhartrā tac=ca dhanam dattam yathārham bhoktum arhati | |

“ Out of the property an inheritance extending to 2,000 should be given to a woman, and whatever property was given by the husband she is entitled to enjoy according to propriety.”

No one will question the eminence of Lakṣmīdhara as a jurist. He flourished in northern India about A.D. 1050. In his Digest the text of Vyāsa appears in a form very closely resembling that printed above, but reading *dvi-sahasrapaṇo dāyaḥ*, thus making it plain (it would otherwise have remained ambiguous) that the inheritance is not to exceed 2,000 *paṇas*.² *Paṇas* of copper, silver, and even gold are heard of, but the *smṛtis* are almost certainly referring to a copper *paṇa*.

But what is the purport of these 2,000 *paṇas* ? Figures are rare enough, as also fractions, in the science of jurisprudence as developed in India, and wherever they occur we have reason to suppose that they were chosen deliberately. But what motives could have induced the jurists to be so precise in this isolated and extremely important instance ? The *smṛti*-texts set out above appear in very respectable commentaries and digests, being treated seriously, besides the works cited above, in the *Vyavahāra-nirṇaya*,³ the *Smṛti-candrikā*,⁴ the *Parāśara-mādhaviya*,⁵ the *Vivāda-ratnākara*,⁶ the *Vivāda-candra*,⁷ the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*,⁸ the *Madana-ratna-pratīpa*,⁹ and the *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*.¹⁰ While Vijñāneśvara does not think fit to cite any of them in his *Mitākṣarā*, his contemporaries Jīmūtavāhana¹¹ and

¹ The connection of this text with Vyāsa's is evident, but as yet unexplained. As Colebrooke notes, *ubi cit.*, many manuscripts read *tri-*, that is to say, “3,000.” The *Dh.k.*, 1429b, prints the text so (xiii, 47, 23), but when the *BORI* Critical Edition of the *Anuśāsana-parva* appears we may confidently expect to find the reading *dvi-* well represented.

² *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, *Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa*, Baroda, 1953, 684.

³ At p. 450.

⁴ At p. 281.

⁵ At III, 548-9.

⁶ At p. 510.

⁷ At p. 82 ; *Dh.k.*, 1521a.

⁸ At p. 377 ; section 523.

⁹ At p. 376.

¹⁰ At p. 154 of Kane's edn.

¹¹ *Dāyabhāga*, text (Calcutta, 1930), 117, trans., IV, i, 10.

Aparārka¹ cite Vyāsa; so does the *Vivāda-tāṇḍava*,² a work only a little less important than the *Mayūkha*, which was written by the author's nephew. Amongst the galaxy of southern works it is not surprising to find the late *Vyavahārārtha-samuccaya*³ also citing Vyāsa. The *Nṛsinha-prasāda*⁴ and its much more distinguished successors the *Vīramitrodaya*⁵ and the eighteenth-century *Bālam-bhaṭṭīya*⁶ are alike in citing Kātyāyana. And to close this impressive list the very eminent Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana⁷ gives us a discussion of the meaning of Vyāsa, himself approving the interpretation of the ancient digest, the *Prakāśa*, now lost. Some of these authors⁸ take the view that the limit of 2,000 applies only to gifts made in any one year! Plainly a fall in the value of money would make 2,000 copper *paṇas* insufficient for the lifetime's needs of a young widow who remained faithful to her deceased husband, and the position would be little better in the case of a female member of a rich family even if the *paṇa* were a silver *paṇa*. Writers hostile to the widow's alleged right of succession went the other way, and took the word *dvi-sāhasra* to mean "2 in every 1,000". We shall not be surprised to find these conflicting "interpretations" being employed, but what astonishes us is that not one of the authors, from the *smṛti*-writers onwards, condescends to tell us why 2,000 is the figure chosen.

In the face of this unbroken silence even an ingenious solution cannot be accepted as conclusive; and until a new and more enlightening text is published we can proceed only upon hypothesis. But fortunately a hint is to be found, and the source of the intriguing figure can be surmised. The *Smṛti-candrikā* quotes a text of Nārada⁹ to the effect that a virtuous widow is entitled to be allowed for her maintenance, out of the property in which her husband had an

¹ On Yājñ, ii, 143; *Dh.k.*, 1460.

² At pp. 439-40.

³ A digest made in the time of Rāja Śarabhojī of Tanjore (circa A.D. 1820).

⁴ At p. 237 of the P. W. Saras. Bhav. Series edn. of 1934.

⁵ At p. 544.

⁶ At p. 731 of the Chowkāmbā Sanskrit Series edn. of 1914.

⁷ *A Digest of Hindu Law . . . translated by H. T. Colebrooke . . .*, London, 1801, iii, 583; Madras, 1865, ii, 600-1 = V, ix, text 482.

⁸ For example Mādhava, Madanasimha, and Nilakaṇṭha.

⁹ At p. 293. For the text see *Dh.k.*, 1402a, where the variant reading, "34," is shown. Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa says that *paṇa* means *kāṣṭhapaṇa*; that may have satisfied his contemporaries, but to us it is merely misleading.

interest, twenty-four *ādhakas*¹ of grain plus forty *paṇas* per annum. It is well known that the needs of any person connected directly or even indirectly with agriculture could be met by an allowance in grain, which served not only to feed the recipient but also as a means of exchange for services upon a wide scale. But certain services or commodities cannot be paid for even to-day otherwise than in coin, and thus a small allowance of cash is essential, where the family concerned normally comes by such a thing. The *smṛti*-writer Viṣṇu, quoted in the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*,² goes further, and throws some light on our difficulty. He says: "Year by year 40 *paṇas* and 24 *ādhakas*; or else 100 *kārṣāpaṇas* as long as she lives; or one-half of this." Viṣṇu seems to be improving upon Nārada. His 100 *kārṣāpaṇas* as an alternative are plainly a commutation for the yearly allowance in grain and coin, and it appears that it is intended to serve as an entire quittance for the family paying it. A widow entitled to be maintained but unwilling to remain in her father-in-law's or her brother-in-law's house might claim her future maintenance as a lump sum. Her grain allowance could not practicably be anticipated, and her food might come either from her own father's family, or from the landed property, if any, of which Kātyāyana speaks. But the cash might be obtained in a lump sum. A yearly allowance of 40 *paṇas* was thought to be practicable as a maximum. How this figure was arrived at remains a mystery.

¹ L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1913, 208, gives several equations showing the weight of an *ādhaka*, but certainty has yet to be achieved, due to the variety of standards. S. K. Maity, *The economic life of Northern India in the Gupta Period*, Calcutta, 1957, at p. 39 deals carefully with the *ādhaka* and finds it equivalent to about 16 seers (of rice). Manu (vii, 126 recommends or prescribes just twice this allowance of grain to a working man.

² Section 527; *Dh.k.*, 1428a. One must record, in all fairness, that the *Sarasvatī-vilāsa* cites Viṣṇu and indeed other *smṛti*-writers quite frequently in cases where no other writer cites them and for opinions which do not always harmonize readily with the views of the same authorities in their recognized and frequently-cited texts. This has led to a suspicion that the compiler manufactured texts and attributed them to known authors of *smṛtis*. Puzzling as the problem is, it is unlikely that this is the solution, since (i) such frauds were relatively easily detected and detection meant the literary death of the work, which was already dangerously long for its hopes of survival; (ii) the names of *smṛti*-writers whose works did not then survive in entirety would have been chosen; and (iii) the forger would not have fabricated texts containing rules the meaning of which was ambiguous and required explanation and, as happens in several instances, the comparison of the views of other commentators thereon. It seems that better, if less simple, explanations must be found. See "*Kuttā*: A class of land-tenures in South India," *BSOAS.*, xxi, 1958, 61, and seqq. at 69.

If there were 16 *pañas* to the *kārṣāpaṇa*, 100 *kārṣāpaṇas* is a sum based upon an actuarial assessment of a widow's probable life : forty years. But Nārada tells us ¹ that in the east a *kārṣāpaṇa* was worth 20 *pañas*. 2,000 *pañas* is more generous in an age when girls might be widowed at 12, and assumes (i) that the widow can always claim as if she were likely to live for fifty years ; and (ii) that if she anticipates living longer it is up to her to invest her capital profitably, while if she lives a shorter period the loss falls on the family which has encouraged or forced her to leave their roof. Naturally a "half", that is to say, proportionately less, will be allowable where the standard of living is lower. Grants in lieu of maintenance have always been regular, and it is not the practice to question a widow as to her method of disposing of hers. The Courts have always considered themselves capable of assessing the rate at which a female should be maintained, and there is nothing in the least incongruous in fixing a figure at which these pious and social duties should be met. Whether the above references solve our present problem or not, it is clear that similar work to that done in the past will continue to be done, if in a more complex manner, when the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act, 1956, is put into operation, and the manner in which dependants are to be maintained out of intestate and even testate estates comes to be worked out in practice.

¹ Barnett, op. cit., 207 : so *Nārada-smṛti*, xxi, 57, as published by Jolly. However, as *Dh.k.* shows, 532a, the majority of the sources read *ṣoḍaśaiva*, "16." Viṣṇu's own description of a *kārṣāpaṇa* is not particularly helpful, but he understood it to be a copper coin : iv, 13 : *Dh.k.*, 526. The reading "20", if it is genuine, is evidently very much older than the proportion 16:1 which appears to be almost universal in later text-books. But the equation 20 *māṣas* = 1 *pañā* which is found in Nārada and other *smṛtis* (*Dh.k.*, 532-3) would seem to throw additional doubt upon this otherwise helpful reading ; particularly since, to make confusion worse confounded, Kātyāyana says that a *kārṣāpaṇa* contains 20 *māṣas* (*Dh.k.*, 533—note variant readings). However, if we are to assume, as Kātyāyana's words very strongly suggest, that he understands *māṣa* here not as a subdivision of the *pañā*, but a variant of it (he says the *kākiṇī* is a fourth part of a *māṣa* and of a *pañā*), his text is even more helpful to us than Nārada's, and he appears to be supported by a text of Uśanas cited by Haradatta on Gautama (see Kane's edn. of Kātyāyana, 493, p. 213, and note thereon). Maity, op. cit., 171, accepts the equation of 20 *māṣa*/*pañā* = 1 *kārṣāpaṇa*, and on p. 172 comments, "It . . . seems that the Smṛiti writers are not thinking in terms of coinage, but rather of goldsmith's weights." He is relating the texts to Gupta coins.

TIBET IN ANGLO-CHINESE RELATIONS :

1767-1842

BY ALISTAIR LAMB

PART II

The Macartney Embassy failed to bring about a significant improvement in Anglo-Chinese relations; the correspondence of 1795-1796 was equally fruitless.¹ The reasons for this failure lay rather in the nature of the Chinese conception of foreign relations than in any misunderstandings about the British role in the Himalayan crisis of 1788-1792. The Chinese Emperor could have no relations with foreign powers on terms of equality; to the Chinese foreign ambassadors were bearers of tribute, coming to Peking to recognize the supremacy of the Son of Heaven. On such terms no properly accredited embassy from the King of England to the Emperor of China could have had any result other than that achieved by Macartney. Only a mission of the type envisaged by Bogle and Hastings, opportunist and flexible, ready to sacrifice dignity to commercial advantage, stood any chance of success. Tibet and the Himalayas played little part in the failure of the first British Ambassador to China. But the reason why this should be so was not fully understood by the British at that time.² The memory of a causal connection between the crisis of the Tibeto-Nepalese War and Lord Macartney's failure remained, and it was to affect subsequent British policy.

Two lessons, somewhat contradictory in implication, seem to have been drawn from these events. In the first place, there developed in India a strong feeling that the extension of British influence into the Himalayas, and closer to the Tibetan border, might provoke a Chinese reaction either on the Indian frontier or at Canton. The English at Canton, on the other hand, seem to have concluded that their conditions of trade and residence might be improved if the Chinese were made to feel that the East India Company, with strong forces on China's Tibetan frontier, was in a

¹ P. Auber, *China : an outline of its government, laws and policy, etc.*, London, 1834, pp. 214-218. Eames, *op. cit.*, p. 129. There was a further exchange of letters between King and Emperor in 1805-1806. The Chinese reply pointed out that there was no need for a repetition of such correspondence.

² The younger Staunton, for example, writing in 1813, thought that Macartney's Mission could have been followed up with profit. Sir G. T. Staunton, Bart., *Miscellaneous notices relating to China*. London, 1822, p. 238.

position to protect its interests and assert its rights by force of arms if need be. The Chinese in Tibet, the argument went on, who were in closer touch with British power, might well be more willing to transmit without alteration British diplomatic correspondence to Peking than were the Chinese authorities at Canton. The idea still persisted that Tibet might be the route by which better relations with Peking could be established. In the correspondence concerning the British war with the Gurkhas of Nepal of 1814-1816 there is clear and abundant evidence of both these lines of thought.

The expansion of the Gurkhas, which had first brought the Himalayas to the notice of the East India Company, did not stop with the conquest of Nepal. Nor did the defeat by China in 1792 arrest the Gurkhas; checked in the north, they pursued their ambitions to the south of the Himalayan watershed with undiminished vigour. They spread their power westwards along the mountains as far as the Sutlej River and beyond; to the east they penetrated into the small hill state of Sikkim, took from its ruler most of his fertile and revenue-producing lands in the foothills of the Himalayas, and drove him to a fugitive existence among the high mountains. Gurkha expansion, moreover, was not confined to the hills. Even before 1792 they had been encroaching on land on the edge of the Gangetic plain; this process increased in intensity, especially after the dissolution of the British treaties with Nepal in 1804. By 1813, when Lord Moira, later Marquess of Hastings, became Governor-General, it looked as if "there could never be real peace" between the Gurkhas and the British who possessed treaties with several of the states that had suffered from Gurkha encroachments, "until we should yield to the Gurkhas our provinces north of the Ganges, making that river the boundary between us."¹ This was not a thought which the British were likely to accept for ever. War with Nepal, to which serious consideration had been given as far back as the time of Warren Hasting,² was inevitable. It finally broke out in 1814.³

When the war with Nepal broke out, the ambitions of the Gurkhas and the direction in which they hoped to extend their dominions

¹ Marquess of Hastings. Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government, etc. Edinburgh, 1825, p. 13.

² BM Add. MSS. Vol. 39, 892, ff. 22, 26. Two plans of proposed campaigns against Nepal are preserved among the papers of Warren Hastings.

³ Major Ross-of-Bladensburg. *The Marquess of Hastings*. Oxford, 1893, pp. 57-59. Short account of the immediate causes of the war.

had been apparent for many years. Memories of the dangers inherent in meddling in Himalayan politics, the apparent lesson of the Macartney Mission, and anxiety as to the possible Chinese reaction to an attack on their Nepalese dependant, doubtless contributed to the slowness with which the British reacted to the Gurkha threat. When war at last came the Indian Government felt much concern as to what the Chinese attitude would be. It had not forgotten that the Chinese had had it within their power to send a large force into Tibet and across the mountains against Nepal in 1792.

It is possible that the motive for journey of that intrepid traveller, William Moorcroft, to Gartok in Western Tibet in 1812 was in part the need for intelligence on the strength and policy of the Chinese in Tibet. It is certain that Lord Moira paid close attention to the reports, based on personal experience and information from native informants, which Moorcroft sent to his Government during the period of the war. Moorcroft thought that in the event of a British attack on Nepal, China would probably come to the aid of her dependant. He reported that in 1813 the Raja of Nepal had appealed to his Chinese suzerain for help in such an eventuality and that the Chinese had sent a favourable reply, asking him how much money and how many men he might need.¹

Dr. Buchanan was another expert on Himalayan affairs whose advice was at the disposal of Lord Moira—he had accompanied a British mission to Katmandu in 1801—Buchanan not sure that the Chinese would intervene; he thought they were probably “fully as tired of the insolence of the Goorka as the British Government appears to be”. He argued, however, that the Chinese could hardly be expected to accept with good grace the annexation by the British of the territory of one of their dependants: even if such an annexation did not lead to Chinese military intervention, “a frontier, indeed, of seven or eight hundred miles between two powerful nations holding each other in mutual contempt seems to point at anything but peace.”²

¹ Papers relating to the Nepaul War. Printed in conformity to the resolution of the Court of Proprietors of East India Stock of the 3rd March, 1824, pp. 84-6. Moorcroft to J. Adam, 14th Sept., 1814. For an account of Moorcroft's life and travels, see: H. H. Wilson, (Ed.), *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan etc.*, by W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, 2 vols., London, 1841.

² Home Miscellaneous. Vol. 646. f. 747. Papers relating to Nepaul War, p. 45. Buchanan to Adam, 9th Aug., 1814. Dr. Buchanan, who later changed his name

The Indian Government, in fact, saw clearly that the outbreak of the Gurkha War threatened to upset for the worse the existing pattern of Anglo-Chinese relations in just the way that the Himalayan crisis of 1788-1792 seemed to have upset the diplomacy of Lord Macartney. British action on this remote frontier of the Chinese Empire was particularly liable to misinterpretation by the time that news of it had found its way through the official hierarchy to Peking. An excellent example of how misunderstandings might arise was provided in 1815, when British troops advancing into Nepal captured a copy of a further appeal from the Raja of Nepal to the Chinese Emperor. This document, after acknowledging the "supremacy of the Emperor of China above all other potentates on earth", pointed out that the Gurkhas could not hope to hold out long against the British without Chinese help. It begged the Chinese to attack Bengal from Tibet, creating a diversion which would take the pressure off Nepal and spread "alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta". The Chinese would find it in their own interests to do this. The English, it went on to argue, have "subjugated all the Rajahs of the plains, and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi; and, therefore, it is to be expected that they would all unite in expelling Europeans from Hindostan"; otherwise "the English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance . . . for the purpose of conquering Lassa . . . Lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or in money, . . . otherwise, in a few years, they will be masters of Lassa".¹ There was sufficient truth in this argument to make it seem plausible to a Chinese official, especially to one with first hand experience of the Europeans at Canton. It was clearly not in the interests of the East India Company to allow the Chinese to become convinced by this sort of reasoning because of the failure to provide a British rebuttal.

The Chinese factor, in fact, dominated British policy during the course of the Gurkha War. Because of the possible Chinese reaction, both in the Himalayas and at Canton, Lord Moira decided to

to Hamilton, was the author of F. Buchanan, *An Account of the Kingdom of Napaul*, London, 1819.

¹ Papers relating to the Nepaul War, p. 556. Secret Letter from Lord Moira, 11th May, 1815.

J. B. Fraser, *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himalaya Mountains*, London, 1826. Quotes letter to the Emperor of China from the Raja of Nepal, 2nd March, 1815.

follow Dr. Buchanan's advice and not annex Nepal in the event of a British victory. He toyed for a while with the idea of returning Nepal to the Rajas who had ruled it before the coming of the Gurkhas in the 1760s—they too had been Chinese dependants—but no members of these former ruling families could be found and there was no alternative to leaving the Gurkhas in possession of Nepal. Thus Nepal survived as a sovereign state. By Nepal, however, Lord Moira understood only that territory in the hills which was in Gurkha hands at the time of the Sino-Nepalese treaty of 1792. He saw no reason, for instance, why the British should not annex or place under their protection the hill territory of Kumaon and Garwhal, land which the Gurkhas had conquered since 1792. Thus the war enabled the British to acquire a strip of hill territory along the Tibetan border from the present western frontier of Nepal to the River Sutlej, territory which was felt to be of potential value as a source of revenue, as a trade route to Western Tibet, and as a site for the development of hill stations where British officials could take refuge from the heat of the plains.¹

To refrain from annexing Chinese dependent territory was not enough by itself to prevent Chinese intervention. What would happen, for example, if British troops advancing in Nepal should happen to meet with Chinese troops, whose presence might be legitimately explained as the escort of a Chinese official come down from Tibet to observe the war at first hand? Lord Moira gave instructions that in such a case the British officers should be very careful to ascertain the intentions of such troops, whether they were hostile or neutral, before opening fire.²

The surest means of preventing any clash with the Chinese would be by presenting to the Chinese authorities, both on the Tibetan frontier and at Peking, a clear and detailed statement of British motives and intentions in the war against the Gurkhas. Once again, British Himalayan policy and the improvement of Anglo-Chinese relations were shown to be inextricably connected. Channels of communication had to be opened with the Chinese; neither of the two possible routes, Tibet and Canton, seemed very promising but the attempt had to be made.

¹ Papers relating to the Nepaul War, p. 551. Secret Letter from Lord Moira, 11th May, 1815.

² Papers relating to the Nepaul War, p. 721. Secret Letter from Lord Moira. 2nd Aug., 1815.

In the Gurkha conquests to the east of Nepal, in the hill state of Sikkim, Lord Moira thought he had discovered a means of exploiting one route whereby his letters might reach the Chinese in Tibet. It was only natural that British troops should help the Sikkim Raja to free his land from Gurkha invaders. A free Sikkim, under the guarantee of British protection, would be of great value in the future as a barrier against a renewed Gurkha attempt to expand eastwards. But the greatest advantage to be derived from British relations with Sikkim lay in the connection between Sikkim and Tibet. As Adam, Secretary to the Indian Government, noted in November, 1814, "the Princes of Sikkim are closely connected with the Lamas of Lassa and Bootan, and their restoration of their former possessions would, no doubt, be highly acceptable to the authorities in those countries, and induce them to regard our proceedings with satisfaction. With respect to Lassa, in particular, it will be advisable to conciliate that Government, as a means of evincing to the Chinese, whose power is predominant there, the moderation of our views, and to show that they are directed to no objects of aggrandisement in that quarter."¹

In early 1815 this policy was put into effect. A British force drove the Gurkhas from Sikkim and the Sikkim Government, in gratitude, agreed to act as a link between Bengal and Lhasa. Letters were sent from the Indian Government to the Chinese authorities in Lhasa by this route and replies received.² Lord Moira felt that the result of this communication had been favourable to British interests. Of the Chinese reply, he wrote to the Select Committee at Canton in June, 1816, "although expressed in a tone of loftiness, there is nothing offensive, still less hostile, in its tenor, and we are disposed to believe that the disposition of the Chinese Umpahs (Ambans or Residents) is as expressed in that letter, that our affairs with the Nepalese should be settled without their intervention."³ A similar, but unsuccessful, attempt was made to get letters to Lhasa through Bhutan, the traditional route for such communications in the days of Warren Hastings. A native agent, Kishen Kant Bose, was sent in 1815 to the Bhutanese capital for this purpose. The only result of this mission was a charming account

¹ Papers relating to the Nepaul War, p. 258. Adam to Scott, 26th Nov., 1814.

² Papers relating to the Nepaul War, p. 924. Letter to Adam, 19th Dec., 1815.

³ Morse, *Chronicle*, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 258. Lord Moira to Select Committee at Canton, 15th June, 1816.

of the government, manners, and customs of the Bhutanese.¹ Inquiries as to whether the Tibetan frontier officials on the new Tibeto-British border of Kumaon and Garwhal might transmit such letters were also instituted, but likewise with no result.² Sikkim was the only effective route for correspondence between Calcutta and Lhasa ; as such it was to play the dominant part in the history of Anglo-Tibetan relations up to the opening of Tibet by Lord Curzon in 1904.

Lord Moira and his Government were much concerned lest the Chinese reaction to the British attack on Nepal should have an adverse effect on the conditions of trade at Canton. If the Chinese chose to interpret this as an attack on China, the trade at Canton might well be stopped and the position of the English merchants there become a dangerous one. In June, 1814, before the war had opened, Lord Moira was at pains to inform the Select Committee of the Supercargoes at Canton (as the governing body for the affairs of the East India Company in China was called) of the circumstances which made the war inevitable ; he told them that he feared lest it might make their position more difficult, a fear which the Supercargoes did not seem to feel.³

The British Home Government, however, seems to have shared Lord Moira's anxiety. In his instructions to Lord Amherst, who was about to set out for China on an embassy to the Chinese Emperor similar to that of Macartney, and doubtless with Macartney's experience in mind, Lord Castlereagh thought that one of the subjects "not unlikely to be brought before you by the Chinese Government" was the question of the nature of the British action in Nepal. He gave an outline of the British case on this matter, how the Bengal Government only acted after extreme and prolonged provocation, and then only out of necessity "to assert the honour, and provide for the future security of the British Possessions", which the Ambassador was to present to the Emperor.⁴ In June, 1816, Lord Moira sent to Canton further

¹ Home Miscellaneous. Vol. 650, f. 72. Scott to Monekton, 20th Jan., 1815. Papers relating to the Nepal War, p. 430. Scott to Adam, 12th Jan., 1815. The account of K. K. Bose is in : *Political Missions to Bootan*, Calcutta, 1865.

² Papers relating to the Nepal War, p. 673. Secret Letter from Lord Moira, 20th July, 1815.

³ Papers relating to the Nepal War, p. 272. Supercargoes to Lord Moira, 5th Oct., 1814.

⁴ Morse, *Chronicles*, op. cit., vol. iii, pp. 281-282.

details of the origins and course of the war and a copy of the treaty which had just been signed with Nepal, to provide fresh arguments for Amherst, should he need them.¹

There was no need for such anxiety. It seems most probable that at the time of the Amherst Mission no report of the events in the Himalayas had reached Peking.² On the only occasion when a Chinese official seems to have mentioned the Gurkhas to a member of Lord Amherst's mission, he made no reference to the war between the British and Nepal.³

The Select Committee at Canton had expressed, from the outset, no fear that the events of the Gurkha War would have a detrimental effect on their position in China. They very much doubted if any news of the war would ever reach Peking; they suspected that unwelcome reports from remote Chinese provinces met with the same fate as British letters to the Chinese Emperor. If such news did reach the Chinese capital, it could do no harm; there was, indeed, a chance that it would benefit the Company's position. The Chinese would realize that the British had at their disposal means of exerting pressure on Chinese territory, and this knowledge, they considered, was "the best if not only security for the preservation of their trade with this country".⁴ They welcomed the advance of British territory up to the Tibetan border in Kumaon and the communications which had been established with the Chinese at Lhasa through the mediation of the Raja of Sikkim. The Select Committee felt, Lord Moira wrote to the Chairman of the East India Company in August, 1816, when he was justifying the conduct of the war, that the opening of these new channels of communication with the Chinese at another point on the frontier of the Chinese Empire was "an important protection for the tea trade; because the Viceroy of Canton, comprehending the facility with which we could transmit representations to Peking overland, would fear to indulge himself again in those vexatious practices with which he had of late harassed the Supracargoes".⁵

¹ Morse, *Chronicles*, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 258.

² R. M. Martin, *China: Political, Commercial, and Social*, London, 1847, p. 25.

³ H. Ellis, *Journal of the proceedings of the late Embassy to China*, London, 1817, p. 196.

⁴ Papers relating to the Nepal War, p. 272. Supercargoes to Lord Moira, 5th Oct., 1814.

⁵ Papers relating to the Nepal War, p. 996. Lord Moira to the Chairman of the East India Company, 6th Aug., 1816.

There is a temptation, hard to resist, to connect in some way the touching faith of the Select Committee at Canton in the Tibetan route with the career of that pleasantly eccentric English scholar, traveller, and friend of Charles Lamb, Thomas Manning. Manning came to Canton in 1807, armed with a letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee, with the intention of learning the Chinese language and then setting out to explore the Chinese interior. Having failed to enter China from Canton or Macao, Manning made an abortive attempt to do so from Cochin China in 1808. In 1810, this time with a letter from the Select Committee to the Governor-General, Manning journeyed from Canton to Calcutta to try to make his way thence into the Chinese Empire across the Himalayas and through Tibet. While he did not get through to China, Manning, in the somewhat ineffective guise of a Chinese gentleman—Markham, who edited his journal, described him “with his broad English face and full flowing beard, . . . looking as little like a Tatar as any son of Adam one might meet in London”,¹ did manage to reach Lhasa in 1811, and to reside there for several months during which time he had interviews with no less a personage than the Dalai Lama. In his journal, Manning made it quite plain that he felt great advantage could be derived from relations between the Company and the Chinese in Tibet; of those Company officials who refused to give him any diplomatic commission or status when he was preparing for his journey, he wrote: “Fools, fools, fools, to neglect an opportunity they may never have again!”² Shortly after his return from Tibet to India he went back to Canton and remained there and at Macao until the Amherst Embassy came to China in January, 1817. He was attached to that Embassy in the capacity of an interpreter, accompanied it to Peking and returned with it to England. It is inconceivable that Manning did not tell of his experiences on his return to Canton from his Tibetan adventures. It is certain that there was no European alive at that time with a greater knowledge of Tibet.³

The Select Committee felt that the *Topaz* affair of 1821 was just

¹ Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., p. clviii.

² Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., p. 218.

³ For further details of Manning, see: Markham, *Narratives*, op. cit., pp. clv-clxi and 213-294. The latter reference is to Manning's journal of his Tibetan journey of 1811-1812, which Markham printed for the first time in 1876.

See also: Auber, *China*, op. cit., pp. 218-223. Auber implies that Manning failed to get as far as Tibet.

the sort of occasion on which great benefit would derive from a better means of communication with Peking.¹ A crisis had arisen at Canton as a result of an affray between members of the crew of H.M.S. *Topaz* and some Chinese at Lintin. Several Chinese were killed and the local authorities demanded that those responsible for the deaths be handed over to the tender mercies of Chinese justice. This particular situation had arisen several times in the past and the British had sometimes sacrificed one of their subjects for the sake of peace; on this occasion, however, they stood firm, refusing to hand over any British seaman to be tried in a Chinese court. The Supercargoes found themselves, as a result of their firm stand, obliged to leave Canton and the trade there was closed for several months. They sent off a long dispatch to the Government of India, outlining the causes of the present dispute and showing the difficulties which faced them in getting for their point of view a fair hearing from the Chinese. They described how at one time they had been obliged to submit any petition they wished to make to Peking to the local authorities, and in the English language. They were convinced that severe distortion took place in the process of translation into Chinese. At present they were permitted to petition in Chinese, but they still had to rely on the agency of the Canton officials for the transmission of such petitions to Peking and they had no guarantee that they reached their destination unaltered, or, indeed, ever reached it at all. They asked the British authorities in Bengal about "the practicability and expediency of transmitting their representations overland to the Chinese frontier opposite Thibet, or by way of Sylhet and the province of Yunan whenever a crisis should occur of importance sufficient to require a reference to the Court of Peking". The Bengal Government looked into the possibilities of Nepal and Sikkim as routes for this kind of communication; they concluded that one letter could probably be sent to Peking by this way but that the development of a regular channel of communication depended entirely on the wishes of the government of the Chinese Emperor at Peking.² There is no record of the matter having been carried any further than this. In 1830

¹ Morse, *Chronicles*, op. cit., vol. iv, pp. 18-41.

² This correspondence is in Board's Collections, vol. 843, No. 22,566. Bengal Political Letter, 10th Sept., 1824, Supercargoes to India, 26th Dec., 1822, E. Gardner to India, 5th April, 1823, D. Scott to India, 24th March, 1823. Also: Despatches to Bengal, vol. 103. Commercial Dept., 24th Oct., 1826.

the English merchants at Canton were probably given a first-hand account of the extreme difficulty of establishing any form of diplomatic communication across the Himalayan frontier. In that year Mr. Inglis, a Canton merchant on holiday in India, travelled up the Sutlej Valley to the Tibetan frontier with the intention of crossing a little way into Tibet; he was firmly refused admittance by Tibetan frontier guards, who made it clear that Englishmen and their letters were not welcome in Tibet.¹

The Gurkha War was over by the summer of 1816, but its conclusion did not remove all danger of Chinese intervention. In the concluding stages of the war the Gurkhas again appealed to the Chinese for help, claiming that the reason for the British attack had been the Nepalese refusal to grant passage to British troops across their country. The British had been bent on an invasion of Tibet and only stubborn Gurkha resistance had prevented them from achieving their object. This appeal, unlike the ones which had preceded it, arrived in China, probably at Chengtu. A senior Chinese official, supported by a large body of troops, was dispatched to investigate the situation on the Himalayan frontier. By the time he arrived in Tibet the Gurkhas had come to terms with the British, peace had been agreed to, and a British Resident had been established at Katmandu. News of the impending arrival of a Chinese force, so unwelcome in Nepal now that its need no longer existed, led the Gurkhas to appeal for help from their former enemies, admitting frankly that the danger was entirely due to their misrepresentations. News of the Chinese approach had also reached the British through the Raja of Sikkim, and a letter had been dispatched at once through that ruler to the Chinese in Lhasa in denial of the Gurkha allegations. In November, 1816, a reply came back from Lhasa observing that "all was well between the Chinese and the English, which latter were a wise and moderate people, never assailing others without provocation", and the real culprits were the Gurkhas, who should be punished. So the Marquess of Hastings, as Lord Moira had become on the successful conclusion of the war, recorded in his diary on 8th November, 1816.²

¹ V. Jaquemont, *Voyage dans L'Inde*, vol. ii, Paris, 1841, p. 340. Jaquemont met Inglis in the Sutlej Valley while he was engaged on a similar, and equally abortive, attempt. Jaquemont's account gives a good picture of the difficulties met with by would-be Tibetan travellers at this time.

² The Marchioness of Bute, (Ed.), *The Private Journals of the Marquess of Hastings*, 2 vols., London, 1858. Vol. ii, pp. 137-148.

A correspondence on this question, and on the desirability of the stationing of a British representative at Katmandu, continued between Calcutta and Lhasa until 1818. It concealed a veiled hostility and, on the part of the Chinese, contempt, beneath a cloak of courteous and friendly phrases. The Chinese certainly showed no desire to make such a correspondence into the sort of channel of communication which the Select Committee envisaged in their letter of 26th December, 1822.¹ It is not clear what was the precise significance of this reported arrival of a Chinese force on the Tibetan frontier. It seems most unlikely that the Chinese had any serious intention of sending an army across the Himalayas in the way they had in 1792.² Perhaps it was merely the exaggerated report of the arrival of a Chinese inspecting official with escort suitable to his rank. But whatever its nature, the British were convinced that an extremely difficult situation had been avoided by the existence of a method whereby their letters could reach the Chinese in Tibet, and they appreciated the value that such diplomatic links would have on the newly established common frontier between India and Tibet in the Western Himalayas, one of the fruits of victory over Nepal.

After the war the Government of India continued in its efforts to develop such contacts across the Kumaon and Garwhal frontier, while the route through Sikkim fell into abeyance. A treaty had been made with the Raja of Sikkim in 1817, in which, in exchange for the return of Sikkimese territory which the British had retaken from the Gurkhas, the Raja agreed to place himself under British protection. But the ambiguous position in which he found himself, with ties to both the Chinese and the British, prevented the Raja from developing too close a relationship with his southern neighbour; Lord Hastings, while still believing that this relationship with the Raja of Sikkim "may be of great use, from the communication which it ensures by way of Tibet with Peking", sympathized

¹ On the correspondence between the British and the Chinese in Tibet during and immediately after, the Gurkha War see: Martin, *China*, op. cit., pp. 24-28. Ross-of-Baldensburg, *Hastings*, op. cit., pp. 82-83. H. T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings: 1813-23*, 2 vols., London, 1825. Vol. i, pp. 209-213. H. H. Wilson, *The History of British India from 1805 to 1835*, 3 vols., London, 1846. Vol. ii, pp. 79-80.

² E. H. Parker, *Nepaul and China*, op. cit., p. 78.

with the difficulties of the Raja's position.¹ Until 1835, when the acquisition of Darjeeling placed the British into close contact with the day-to-day politics of Sikkim, this tiny hill state did not again play much part in trans-Himalayan diplomacy.² The western frontier, however, acquired some commercial importance since it provided a potential route of access to Gartok and Western Tibet, where the shawl wool was produced that formed the raw material for the immensely profitable shawl industry of Kashmir.

The value of this industry had attracted the notice of the Company some time towards the end of the eighteenth century, and in the decade before the Gurkha War a great deal had been learnt about it.³ In 1815 the Company established a factory at Kotgarh on the Sutlej to try to coax the trade in this valuable raw material away from the traditional route to Kashmir through Ladakh, and down on to British territory.⁴ The Sikh conquest of Kashmir in 1819, and the famine which followed, drove many shawl weavers into British territory and gave further stimulus to the Company's plans to develop a shawl industry of its own. The only obstacle to this plan lay in Tibetan reluctance to export the raw shawl wool, of which Western Tibet possessed the monopoly, to new markets. This inevitably gave rise to British attempts to open commercial negotiations with the Tibetan and Chinese authorities along their common frontier, either through British officials or through the mediation of native states like Bashahr, which possessed close ties with Tibet.⁵

¹ Hastings, *Journals*, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 146.

² It is probable that Indo-Tibetan trade if not Indo-Tibetan diplomacy was an important factor in the acquisition of Darjeeling. See: H. V. Bayley, *Dorje-ling*, Calcutta, 1838. Appx. A.A.

³ Bogle and Turner both refer to Tibetan shawl wool. In 1799 the Bengal Government were requested to obtain specimens of the shawl sheep of Western Tibet with a view to their being bred in England. Bengal Despatches, vol. 34. Bengal Commercial Despatch of 31st Oct., 1799. Moorcroft's journey to Gartok in 1812, published in 1816, gave much publicity to this industry. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xii, Calcutta, 1816.

⁴ The site was selected in 1815. Trade does not seem to have started until 1820-21. *Punjab States Gazetteer*, vol. viii, Lahore, 1911, No. 2, p. 8. Enclosures to Secret Letters from India, Vol. 89, No. 38, Enclosure No. 114. Cunningham to Clerk, 30th July, 1842. R. H. Davies, *Report on the Trade and Resources of the Countries on the N.W. Boundary of British India*, Lahore, 1862. Appx. XXIV, pp. cxxxi-cxxxi.

⁵ For example: Major Sir W. Lloyd and Capt. A. Gerard, *Account of a Journey from Caunpoor to the Boorendo Pass, etc.*, 2 vols., London, 1840. Vol. ii, pp. 91, 125, 155-156, 178.

Nothing resulted from such attempts, unless it was the emergence of a clearer understanding of the unwillingness of the Chinese and their Tibetan dependants to have anything to do with the British in this part of their territories. This was a conclusion the British seemed determined not to accept, to judge by the way British officials continued to try to establish friendly relations with their Tibetan counterparts. It seems likely, moreover, that the British, whenever they did manage to meet a Tibetan functionary on the frontier, continued to try to turn such chance encounters into a regular channel of communication with Peking, often without official approval from Government. In 1827 the Tibetans, through the agency of the British protected state of Bashahr, protested against the way in which British officials were continually crossing into Tibet to try and open talks with Tibetan officials. They warned that the British should take care if they did not want to provoke war with Tibet, possessing great forces of her own and the support of the Chinese Emperor. If they wanted to enter into relations with the Chinese Emperor, the letter concluded, the British should do so by sea by Canton and not through Tibet.¹ On the rare occasions when a British mission was sent to Bhutan or other hill districts to try and bring about an end to raids by hillmen on to the bordering plains, there are hints that the needs of Anglo-Chinese diplomacy were not quite forgotten. Pemberton, who went up to Bhutan in 1838, for example, had orders to go to Lhasa if he could get permission to cross over into Tibet from Bhutan. Since one of the objects of Pemberton's visit to Bhutan was to find out its relations with the Chinese, it seems likely that his projected trip to Lhasa, for which he failed to get permission, had a similar object.²

By 1838, when Pemberton was sent to Bhutan, the need for diplomatic relations across the Himalayas had lessened considerably. In China the signs were that some forceful solution would soon be found to the old problems of Anglo-Chinese relations. In Western Tibet there had suddenly developed a rapid increase in the shawl wool exported to British India, and this was the sole aspect of

¹ Board's Collections. Vol. 1181. No. 30, 743.
9 Bengal Political Letter of 3rd July, 1828. See also: J. D. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, revised edition, London, 1918, p. 183n.

² R. B. Pemberton, *Report on Bootan*, Calcutta, 1838, p. 90. India and Bengal Despatches. Vol. 15, f. 654. India Political Despatch No. 18 of 28th March, 1838.

Indo-Tibetan trade in which the Company then retained much interest.

The dramatic increase in the Tibetan shawl wool trade with British territory was due to a chain of events in which the British had played little part; yet it was destined to lead to the final crisis in the Himalayas, of 1841-42, which marked the last occasion on which, until the Communist "liberation" of Tibet in 1951, the presence of Chinese troops in Tibet was thought to create a serious problem in the defence of India.

In 1834 Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu and feudatory of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore, invaded the kingdom of Ladakh, that strip of mountainous territory dividing Kashmir from Western Tibet. Ladakh was then an independent kingdom with the closest political, dynastic, commercial, and religious ties with Tibet. It had long enjoyed a monopoly of the transit trade in the shawl wool exported from Western Tibet to Kashmir; to gain control of this valuable traffic had been a dominating motive in Gulab Singh's attack. The outcome, despite the easy conquest of Ladakh, was a financial disappointment to the Jammu Raja; he found that his invasion had resulted in a diversion of the shawl exports from Ladakh to British territory by means of the route down the Sutlej. Between 1837, when the first figures were kept, and 1840, the value of shawl passing through Rampur, the chief mart on the Sutlej route, increased by over 200 per cent.¹ This development led Gulab Singh, in the spring of 1841, to carry his conquests a stage further and invade the shawl producing areas of Western Tibet. But he had overreached himself. In December, 1841, the invading force was met by a combined Chinese and Tibetan army, and suffered a catastrophic defeat. In the following spring the Chinese and Tibetans carried the war into Gulab Singh's territory, invading Ladakh and besieging its capital, Leh. At this point Gulab Singh decided he had had enough. He came to terms with the Chinese and Tibetans and signed a treaty in which, in return for a revival of the shawl trade through Ladakh, he became some sort of Chinese tributary; a fact which was to cause much annoyance to the British when Gulab Singh's possessions eventually came under British protection.²

¹ J. D. Cunningham, Notes on Moorcroft's travels, etc., *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. xiii, pt. i, 1844, p. 208.

² See: Cunningham, *Sikhs*, op. cit., for a general account of this war.

The Indian Government watched these events with close attention and considerable disquiet. In the first place, Gulab Singh's attack had resulted in a stoppage of the shawl supplies to British territory at a time when many of the Indian subjects of the Company had become economically dependent upon such supplies. This was a matter in which British prestige was involved once it became apparent that the Company could not protect its subjects from the consequences of the actions of the upstart and irresponsible ruler of Jammu.¹ But there were graver political issues than this involved.

In 1841 the British were involved in wars with Afghanistan and with China. Their military resources were strained to the limit. Gulab Singh's attack on Tibet threatened to involve the British in further military commitments. The Sikh kingdom of Lahore, of which Gulab Singh was a dependant, was a British ally. The Chinese might well interpret his attack on Tibet as a concealed British offensive against China. The Chinese might be tempted to create a diversionary attack on India to weaken the British effort in China itself. Nepal, China's tributary, was eager to undertake this task on behalf of her suzerain and had already offered her services.² Even if war did not break out on the Indian frontier, the action of Gulab Singh, wrote Clerk, who was responsible for the Company's policy in North-Western India, "might prove embarrassing under such circumstances as an approaching pacification at Pekin; for that Government (China) will, of course, in the present state of affairs there, impute the invasion of its territories by the Sikhs (Gulab Singh), to the instigation of the British Government".³ The danger of a clash with China increased when the Chinese defeated Gulab Singh, and remnants of his army sought refuge in British territory.⁴ This danger further increased when Chinese troops started to invade Ladakh. Serious thought had to be given to the possibility of British troops being sent to Gulab Singh's assistance.⁵ But, as in 1792, the British finally decided to

¹ Enclosures to Secret Letters from India. Vol. 79, No. 76. Thomason to India 4th Sept., 1841.

² Enclosures to Secret Letters from India. Vol. 78, No. 65. Hodgson to Clerk 2nd Aug., 1841. Parker, *Nepaul and China*, op. cit., p. 80.

³ Enclosures to Secret Letters from India. Vol. 79, No. 76. Clerk to India 4th Sept., 1841.

⁴ Enclosures to Secret Letters from India. Vol. 89, No. 38. Clerk to India 31st Aug., 1842.

⁵ Enclosures to Secret Letters from India. Vol. 90. Secret Dept. Confidential News Letter No. 3 of 22nd Jan., 1842.

confine themselves to an offer of mediation. A British officer was sent up to the Tibetan border. As in 1792, he took no part in the settlement which was eventually made between the defeated invaders and the Chinese.¹

On this occasion British inactivity seemed to have been justified by the event. The Chinese did not attack India; nor did their Nepalese tributaries, of whom, in any case, the Chinese had conceived a deep distrust. The crisis in the Himalayas had no perceptible effect on the war in China or its settlement by the treaty of Nanking.

With the signing of the Treaty of Nanking Anglo-Chinese relations were placed on a new footing. No longer did it seem necessary to look for channels of communication with Peking other than those through China proper. The importance of Tibet to the British became predominantly commercial; within four years of the signing of the Nanking Treaty the Indian Government was trying to use the new means of communication with the Chinese to secure better relations between India and Tibet.² There was, in fact, a complete reversal in policy. Previously it had been hoped to a varying degree that through Tibet, China might be opened. After 1842 it was hoped that through Chinese mediation Tibet might be opened to Indian commerce.

The British fear of Chinese military action on the Indian frontier of the Himalayas dwindled away. Such anxiety played but the smallest part in determining British policy during the Sikkim War of 1861 and the Bhutan War of 1865 despite the fact that the British appreciated that both these states had ties with China. The Nepalese, moreover, soon realized that their Chinese suzerain was never going to encourage or support them in any plans for territorial expansion at British expense. In 1854-56 the Gurkhas again turned their eyes to the north. Their war with Tibet during those years brought about no Chinese reaction. Thereupon Nepalese policy looked to expansion to the north and firm friendship with the British to the south.

From 1842 until 1951, except during Lord Curzon's tenure of office as Viceroy when it seemed as if Tibet might become the field of vigorous Anglo-Russian competition, the Himalayas posed

¹ This was J. D. Cunningham, the future historian of the Sikhs.

² Sir J. Davis, *Chinese Miscellanies*, London, 1865, pp. 47-48.

no serious problem to Indian frontier defence. To-day, however, when the Chinese Communists have established themselves firmly in Tibet, a situation exists which has many similarities to that which arose in 1792. Once more the Himalayas dominate the relations between two powerful states. Once more the status of Nepal and the other Himalayan States with ancient ties to the north is a matter of prime political importance. The former period, when Tibet played some part in Anglo-Chinese relations, is not without some relevance to modern problems.

SAMPRASĀRAṆA IN MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN

By K. R. NORMAN

IT HAS BECOME customary to use the term "samprasāraṇa" in discussing a variety of cases where there is vocalization, or apparent vocalization, of a semivowel in Middle Indo-Aryan.¹ It would seem desirable to examine and classify the circumstances in which the term is used.

(1) The term is borrowed from the Sanskrit grammarians who use it in accordance with Pāṇini I.1.45.² The Kāśikā commentary on this sūtra gives the illustrations *yaḥ* : *iṣ-ṭam* ; *vap* : *up-tam* ; *grah* : *grh-ṭam*. From the philological point of view, then, samprasāraṇa represents the weak grade of roots and suffixes containing a semivowel combined with -a-, i.e. -ya-, -va-, -ra-, -la-. When the vowel -a- is lost, the semivowel assumes its vocalic function, i.e. -i-, -u-, -r-, -l-.³ The term "samprasāraṇa" merely indicates that such vocalization has occurred : it is not an operative function, and it would be meaningless to say that such an apophonic change had taken place because of samprasāraṇa. The term is used in MIA to describe weak-grade formations corresponding to those in Skt. Thus it can be said that the Māgadhi verb *vavai* "he sows" shows samprasāraṇa in the formation of its past participle *utta*,⁴ just as Skt *vapati* forms *upta*-.

(2) The more common use of the term is in connection with those MIA forms which differ from OIA in showing a reduced grade of the root or suffix. The differences between such related pairs of

¹ Some abbreviations : IA = Indo-Aryan ; O = Old ; M = Middle ; N = New ; IE = Indo-European ; II = Indo-Iranian ; Skt = Sanskrit ; Pkt = Prakrit ; AMg = Ardha-Māgadhi ; Pischel = R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-sprachen* (cited by paragraphs) ; Geiger = W. Geiger, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* (cited by paragraphs) ; Edgerton = F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Skt Grammar* (cited by paragraphs) ; Burrow, Skt Lang. = T. Burrow, *Skt Language* ; Burrow, Khar. Lang. = T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (cited by paragraphs) ; Whitney, Gram. = W. D. Whitney, *Skt Grammar* (cited by paragraphs) ; Whitney, Roots = W. D. Whitney, *Roots and Verb-forms of the Skt Language* ; Berger = H. Berger, *Zwei Probleme der mittelindischen Lautlehre*.

² "ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam" : "ik (= i, u, r, l) which replaces yaṇ (= ya, va, ra, la) is called samprasāraṇa". The Kāśikā explains that the name is given by some to both the sound and the change.

³ Burrow, *Skt Lang.*, p. 108.

⁴ Pischel, 151.

words as Skt *dhvani-* : Pkt *dhuni-* ; Skt *tvarita-* : Pāli *turita-* ; Skt *kvathita-* : Pāli *kuthita-* ; Skt *svapna-* : Pāli *supina-* < **supna-*¹ ; Skt *vad-* : Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *udāsī*² ; Vedic *dvaka-* : Pāli *dutiya-* ; Skt future ending *-iṣyati* : AMg *-ihī* < **-isiti* (which may appear in Aśokan *vaḍhisiti*)³ are to be explained by saying that the MIA forms show samprasāraṇa.

It is debatable whether such forms are MIA innovations or derivations from OIA or even earlier II or IE forms. In many cases it can be shown that the weak grade of the root existed in OIA or earlier, and in some cases the actual form can be paralleled in another IE language. Geiger⁴ distinguished between Pāli and pre-Pāli samprasāraṇa but it is difficult to see on what grounds he based his distinction. He certainly did not include *soppa-* (< **suppa-* < **supna-*) among the pre-Pāli phenomena, although the existence of Greek *ὑπνος* is clear evidence that **supna-* is an inherited form, not an innovation. Pāli *dutiya-* "second" is not derived directly < *dvitiya-*,⁵ but shows the weak grade of *dva-* seen in Vedic *dvaka-*.⁶ The same weak grade appears in Skt *dvṛca-*⁷ and Latin *duplex*. Both *dhvani-* and *dhuni-* exist in OIA but the weak-grade formation is not there used as a noun, as in MIA.

The fact that in some cases the samprasāraṇa formation is older than the MIA sound changes (which would have begun to assimilate the semivowels to consonant groups) shows that with much certainty it can be postulated that in pre-MIA, i.e. OIA or earlier, doublet forms of the type *svapna-*/**supna-* existed, and the presence or absence of these forms is very much a matter of dialectal variation.⁸

¹ Burrow, *Skt. Lang.*, p. 46.

² See L. Alsdorf, "A specimen of Archaic Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī," *BSOS.*, viii, 325.

³ Aśokan *-isiti* may represent *-isiti*, *-īsiti*, *-issiti*.

⁴ Geiger, 10.

⁵ To postulate **dvatiya-* from which *dutiya-* is derived by samprasāraṇa (Berger, p. 61) seems unnecessary. Such a form need never have occurred and to invent it seems to be taking a very mechanical view of samprasāraṇa.

⁶ Three forms exist in Skt: *dva*, *du*, and *dv-i* with *-i-* suffix. The use of the weak grade *du-* instead of *dvi-* is parallel to the use of *tr-* in *trtiya-* instead of the *tri-* seen in Greek τριτος. There seems to be no example of normal grade *tra-* in IA, unless AMg *tacca-* is < **tratya-* not **trtiya-*. In the latter *-r-* might be expected to develop > *-i-* in the proximity of the palatal *-cc-*.

⁷ Whitney, *Gram.*, 233a.

⁸ For such variants in BHSkt see Edgerton 34.14. For variations between IA and Iranian see H. W. Bailey, *TPS.*, 1953, p. 24.

In some cases the Indian grammarians themselves allowed such a variation of vowel grade, e.g. either *yajyamāna-* or *ijyamāna-* is allowed as the present passive participle of *yaj-*.¹

(3) The extension of the term "samprasāraṇa" to the alternations *yā/ī*, *vā/ū*² would seem to be justified since they are based ultimately on the *ya/i*, *va/u* variation.³ One can quote Skt *styāna-*: Pāli *thīna-* < **stīna-*⁴; the absolutive endings *-tvānam*⁵: *tūnaṃ*⁶; *-tvā*: Aśokan *-tu*.⁷

Although some hesitate to assume the existence of such non-Sanskritic forms in dialects of OIA, there is ample evidence that difference in the grade of root or suffix vowel is a widespread phenomenon, such differences not being restricted to cases where samprasāraṇa can rightly be claimed. Alongside Skt *mātrā-* AMg has *mettā-* < **mitrā-*: Pāli *saddhīm* and *visuṃ* are examples of the weak stems *sadhrīc-* and *viṣūc-*⁸ being used indeclinably instead of the normal grade *sadhryak-* and *viṣvak-*⁹: Pāli *nigrodha-* shows a similar development < **nigrodha-* from the weak stem *nīc-*, and Pkt *tiriccha-* implies a formation from a weak stem **tīrīc-* not attested in Skt.

That MIA sometimes shows a stronger grade than Skt is attested by Skt *guru-*: Pāli *garu-*; Skt *iṣṭa-*: Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada *yaṭha-*, cf. Avestan *yašta*¹⁰; Skt *brhat-*: Pāli *brahant-*¹¹ alongside

¹ Patañjali on Pāṇini, vi, 1, 108.

² Geiger 25, though some of his examples are due to contraction, not apophony (see below).

³ Burrow, *Skt Lang.*, p. 85.

⁴ Berger (p. 78) states that *thīna-* is not a samprasāraṇa form, but represents a weak-grade formation. Since samprasāraṇa has been shown to be merely the Skt grammatical term for weak grade, his distinction is difficult to understand.

⁵ Whitney, *Gram.*, 993c.

⁶ So Pischel, 152, though in 584 he seems to derive *-tūna* < *-tuāna* < **-tuwāna* < *-wāna*. He is followed in this by L. A. Schwarzschild (*J.A.O.S.*, 76, p. 113) who calls this phonetic development "samprasāraṇa" because of a wrong notion of what samprasāraṇa really is (see below).

⁷ The weak grade and absence of final *-ṃ* in *śrutu* show that this must be an absolutive, not the infinitive form **śrotu*.

⁸ For the change *-īk*, *-ūk* > *-iṃ*, *-uṃ*, cf. Pāli *manaṃ* < *manāk*.

⁹ When the weak grade *sadhrīc-* already exists in Skt it seems unnecessary to postulate a MIA innovation (showing samprasāraṇa) **sadhrīc* < *sadhryak*. See Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 494, n. 1.

¹⁰ See H. W. Bailey, *TPS.*, 1953, p. 24, and Edgerton, 34.13.

¹¹ Showing the same grade as in *brahma-*. In Pāli normally *br-* > *b(r)u-*, cf. *abbvya* < *ābrhya*.

Pkt *biha-*; Skt *nigṛhṇāti*: Pāli *niggaṇhāti* (< **nigraṇhāti* as *-gg-* shows) alongside Pkt *nigṇhai*; Skt *viḥṃsā-*: Pāli *vihesā*.¹

(4) "Samprasāraṇa" is also used by some to cover those cases where *-i-* or *-u-* is evolved after *-y-* or *-v-*, in circumstances where the semivowel does not seem to be vocalized, but rather assimilated to a preceding consonant. So Kuhn² lists *majjhima-* < *madhyama-* as an example of samprasāraṇa, while Pischel³ quotes AMg *assottha-* < *āsvattha-* under the same heading. In these cases the geminated consonants show clearly that the semivowel has been assimilated and not vocalized, while *-a-* > *-i-* or *-u-* under the influence of the preceding *-y-* or *-v-*.⁴ So *assottha-* < **āsvattha-* < *āsvattha-*; and *majjhima-* < **madhyima-* < *madhyama-*. Although Geiger⁵ rejected Kuhn's view, Berger⁶ has recently revived it on the grounds of the relative chronology of the sound changes. Granted that his chronology of the palatalization in *majjhima-* is correct, then *madhyama-* would > **majhyama-* on the analogy of Skt *jyotis-* < **dyotis-*, and Aśoka's *adhigīcyā* < *adhikṛtyā*. But if at this stage samprasāraṇa occurred, and *-ya-* were replaced by *-i-*, **majjhima-* would result. The actual occurrence of *-jjh-* not *-jh-* seems to show that *-y-* remained as a semivowel and was assimilated to the previously palatalized *-dh-*. Similarly, if samprasāraṇa occurred *āsvattha-* would > **asottha-* in Pkt. In the case of Pāli *addhūnā*, showing *-ddh-* < *-dhv-*, it can clearly be seen that samprasāraṇa has not taken place, since Skt preserves a form *adhūnā* "by a (straight) way, straightway, now", showing the vowel gradation *-van-/un-*. The evolution of an epenthetic vowel before the semivowel and the change *-a-* > *-i-* or *-u-* after it, with subsequent elision, can produce a long vowel by contraction, e.g. *vyati-* > **viyiti-* > **vīti* > *vīti-*, *svan-* > **suvin-* > **suun-* > *sūn-*. The subsequent change *-ū-* > *-o-* seen in Pkt *soṇa-*, Pāli *sopāka-*⁷ (< *śvapāka-*) may be no more than a matter of pronunciation,⁸ parallel to the confusion

¹ For the alternation *his-/hes-* see T. Burrow, *JRAS.*, 1956, p. 200. The attempt made in Geiger 10 to derive *hes-* < *hiṃs-* by phonetic changes must be abandoned.

² E. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Pali-grammatik*, p. 54.

³ Pischel 152.

⁴ For the change *-a-* > *-u-* after a labial, cf. *kammunā* (Pischel 104).

⁵ Geiger 19, n. 2.

⁶ Berger, p. 32.

⁷ This may not be < *śvapāka-* at all, but < **śavapāka-* "corpse-cooker". Pāli has *sapāka-* also.

⁸ It may on the other hand be an early example of the secondary development found later in NIA (see Grierson, On the modern IA vernaculars, paras. 239, 254)

of -u- and -ō- before doubled consonants, e.g. Pāli *sōppa-* < **suppa-* < **supna-*.

(5) The changes -aya- > -e-, -ava- > -o-¹ are also considered as samprasāraṇa by some,² who presumably regard this as an alternation a-ya : *a-i > e; a-va : *a-u > o. But Geiger³ is correct in regarding these changes as phonetic, arising from elision and contraction, through the stages -aya- > **ayi-* > -ai- > -e-, -ava- > -avu- > -au- > -o-, where the semivowels are elided because of their light pronunciation. The former development can be seen partially paralleled in the series Skt *sthavira* : Aśokan *thaira* : Pāli *thera-*, and the latter in Skt *navati-* : Pāli *navuti-* : Pkt *navim-*.

In initial syllables it is often impossible to decide whether samprasāraṇa or assimilation is encountered. Pāli *sobbha-* "hole" may be derived < **śubhra-* or < **śvubhra-* < *śvabhra-*. The compounds *kussubbha-*, *kussobbha-* may show -ss- < -śv- but the evidence is not conclusive. In the case of **sogga-* postulated as the origin of Tamil *cokkam*, the derivation may be < **svurga-* < *svarga-*, or < **sūrğa-* showing the weak grade of *svar-* seen in *sūrya-*.

In final syllables, too, it is sometimes impossible to decide between samprasāraṇa and some other development. The absolutes in -i found in Apabhramśa⁴ and BHSkt⁵ are regarded by some as examples of samprasāraṇa.⁶ It seems very likely, however, that the formation of these absolutes cannot be separated from the development found in Niya Pkt⁷ where -ya and -iya > -i. The fact that in the same Pkt the reverse is also found, with -ya being written

whereby -e-, -o- are frequently interchangeable with -ya-, -va-. Other examples are found in the Niya Pkt (Burrow, *Khar. Lang.*, 7). Such an alternation may have an historic origin, and may be originally a bye-form of the normal grade: u : *ua > va, i : *ia > ya, parallel to r : ra ar. Alternations of the latter type exist

in Skt, e.g. *brahman-*, *barhiṣṭa-*; they were more frequent in the NW Pkt, e.g. *karma-*, *krama-*. The alternation *vyadh-/vedh-* occurs in Skt only in Epic (Whitney, *Roots* s.v.) and may represent a MIA innovation, cf. Pkt *vehai*.

¹ This phenomenon is found also in Skt *bhos* < *bhavas*, and in NIA, e.g. Pashai *kok* < *kavak* (see Morgenstierne, *Pashai Language* 2. Texts, p. xv).

² Pischel 153.

³ Geiger 26.

⁴ Pischel 594.

⁵ Edgerton 35.49-51.

⁶ Edgerton 1.102, 3.115. In fact from both Pischel and Edgerton it can be seen that some of the examples they quote do not show an alternation -ya/-i, but rather -ya > -yi, similar to that discussed above, e.g. *koppī* < *kupya*, *paṣyi* < *paṣya*.

⁷ Burrow, *Khar. Lang.*, 9.

for *-i* shows that this is a matter of pronunciation, not vowel gradation; this probably represents a state of affairs where the difference in pronunciation between *-i* and *-iya* was very small, due presumably to the weakening and virtual disappearance of the final *-a*.¹ These changes may be seen in the series Skt **-smārya* : Pkt *sumari(y)a* : BHskt *smari*.² The change *-iya* > *-ī* was to become very productive in NIA.³

A different explanation can be put forward in the case of absolutes in *-ya* for verbal roots ending in a vowel, e.g. *dai* < *-dāya*.⁴ The change *-āya* > *-āe* is common in Pkt,⁵ and the secondary change *-āe* > *-āi* could easily occur *metri causa*, or by the general tendency for final unaccented syllables to be shortened, e.g. *Aśokaṇ duve* > *duvi*. The intermediate stages are attested in Krorayina Pkt *uvadayi* and Kharoṣṭhī Dharmapada *praha'i*.⁶ The similar variation *-āya/-āi* found in Pkt feminine noun stems in *-ā*, and claimed as samprasāraṇa by some,⁷ is probably also to be explained through the intermediate form *-āe*⁸ with shortening of *-e* > *-i*.

(6) The appearance of an epenthetic vowel *-i*, *-u* before *-y*, *-v*⁹ is described by some¹⁰ as samprasāraṇa. This explanation is given for the absolute ending *-tuāna*¹¹ < **tuwāna* < *-twāna*, though here *-va* does not > *-u*, since *-v* is elided, not vocalized. Some link

¹ For the weakening of final *-a* see H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xi, 789, and cf. *Apabrahmaṣa* inst. sg. *-eṇ* < *-ena* (Pischel 363).

² This is Pischel's explanation (594), rejected by Edgerton (35.49) and Gray (*BSOS.*, viii, 575). The latter's observation that it is "quite improbable" is hard to understand in the light of the similar change in Niya.

³ Grierson, loc. cit., para. 182. It is doubtful if this change can be called samprasāraṇa, even in its broadest sense, since the *-i* which remains is probably not due to the vocalization of *-y*, but arises from the epenthetic *-i* evolved before it when the group *-ry-* was resolved > *-riy-* instead of being assimilated.

⁴ Pischel 594.

⁵ Pischel 593.

⁶ See H. W. Bailey, *JRAS.*, 1955, p. 24.

⁷ See L. A. Schwartzschild, *JRAS.*, 1956, p. 183.

⁸ L. A. Schwartzschild (loc. cit., p. 184) examines the reasons for the change *-āya* > *-āe*. Since it is unlikely that this change can be separated from the corresponding change in the absolute ending of verbs in *-ā*, it seems likely that it does not arise from the dative ending *-āyai*, but is a phonetic change *-ya* > *-ye* after a long vowel (see Alsdorf, *BSOS.*, viii, 329), similar to the change of internal *-ya* > *-yi* discussed above. For the corresponding change of final *-va* > *-vo* see Burrow, *Khar. Lang.*, 53.

⁹ See Geiger, 30-1.

¹⁰ See S. Sen, *Comparative Grammar of MIA*, paras. 22, 26.

¹¹ Found only in the grammarians. See Pischel 584.

this phenomenon to the Vedic pronunciation of *-v-* as *-u-* in certain circumstances,¹ e.g. *tvam* pronounced *tuam*. The fact that Niya Pkt *tuo*² is dissyllabic and shows hiatus does not prove reappearance of the Vedic pronunciation, but is rather a coincidence arising from the phonetic development *tvam* > *tuam* > **tuo* > *tuo*.

The uses made of the term "samprasāraṇa" have now been examined at some length. It is very probable that in its original sense of vocalization of a semivowel when the following *-a-* is lost in apophony an entirely pre-MIA phenomenon is being treated. The reasons for apophony arising originally in IE are not clear, but it was presumably connected with accent shift. From the frequently unhistoric position of accents in OIA³ it is clear that the conditions which produced these alternations were no longer effective in MIA. It follows that any genuine examples of apophony in MIA must have OIA originals, e.g. if there are variant absolute endings *-ya/-i* in MIA, this must have been the case in some dialect of OIA.⁴

In examples where apophony can definitely be excluded, then the phenomenon is likely to be a MIA innovation or development, resulting from elision and contraction. For describing genuine samprasāraṇa Western philologists need not borrow the Indian term, since they have their own grammatical terms to employ. For describing apparent vocalization of semivowels the term is misleading and ambiguous, if not entirely wrong. It would seem better to avoid the term, replacing it by some precise description of the phenomenon being treated. It follows that the word "samprasāraṇa" can disappear from the vocabulary of those who study MIA.

¹ L. A. Schwartzschild, *JAOS.* 76, p. 113.

² Burrow, *Khar. Lang.*, 79.

³ Burrow, *Skt Lang.*, pp. 167, 178.

⁴ The fact that absolutes in *-i* are not so far attested in OIA is not conclusive since many unquestionably old features in MIA have no apparent antecedents. It may, however, be significant that there seems to be no absolute ending in *-i* with the *-nam* suffix. All other absolute endings appear with and without *-nam*, e.g. *-yā*, *-yānam*; *-ccā*, *-ccānam*; *-tvī*, *-tvīnam*; *-tvā*, *-tvānam*; *-tu*, *-tūnam*.

THE PANĀKAḌUVA COPPER-PLATES

By C. E. GODAKUMBURA

IN HIS REPLY to my Review of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, volume v, part 1, Dr. S. Paranavitana has given further support to my suggestion that the "Panākaḍuva Copper-plate Charter" is a forgery by some close descendant of the supposed recipient of the grant. (See *JRAS.*, 1956, pts. 3, 4, pp. 237-240 ; 1957, pts. 3, 4, pp. 213-14.)

I came to my conclusions guided by Dr. Paranavitana's own text and translation of the plates and his introduction to the paper. Dr. Paranavitana's reply seems to imply that he is not responsible for some of his own statements. No one is anxious to prove the document to be a forgery, but, at the same time, no one should be extra anxious to vouch for its genuineness.

1. Dr. Paranavitana attempts to show a similarity between the privileges granted by the charter under discussion and certain clauses of the land grant made in the DEVUNDARA DĒVĀLĒ SANNASA (Bell, H. C. P., "Archæological Survey of Ceylon," *Report on the Kégalla District*, 1892, pp. 96-7). He implies that the lands granted by this decree (*sannasa*) were also hereditary to the recipients as were the privileges granted to Budal, his sons and grandsons (p. 25, line 11 ; p. 27, line 7). If one reads the DEVUNDARA DĒVĀLĒ SANNASA carefully one will not fail to see a clear difference between the two documents on the question of hereditary right. What is said in the Sannasa is that certain lands were enjoyed in hereditary succession by two groups of people, and that a person specifically named, Tēnuvara Perumāla, is included among them as a son of theirs. The purpose of this grant is quite evident. Some attempt had been made to exclude the person named in the decree from the enjoyment of his share of the lands concerned, and hence the grant was issued to establish his rights. Does this bear any similarity to the contents of the PANĀKAḌUVA GRANT ? One would welcome Dr. Paranavitana's naming just a few out of the "large number of other grants" which he claims are of similar character so that they also may be closely examined !

2. Dr. Paranavitana, in an attempt to refute one of my questions, says, "The document nowhere states that the family of the grantee

was immune from guilt for any offence, least of all for treason." Has not, however, Dr. Paranavitana written in his introduction to the paper (*Ep. Zey.*, vol. v, pt. 1, p. 19, lines 16-18): "The royal favour received by Lord Budal for the services rendered by him to his sovereign was of unique nature. He and his descendants ("sons and grandsons" in the translation, p. 25, p. 27) were made exempt from punishment even for treason"? It will no doubt be clear from this that it is not the reviewer, but Dr. Paranavitana who has added to the privileges recorded in the grant. The relevant passage from the translation is as follows: "Even if an offence be committed which cannot be expiated otherwise than by giving up life, they shall be pardoned up to three times; . . . even if treason, of whatever degree, be committed by them, apart from banishing them . . ." (op. cit., p. 27, lines 12-16). It is difficult to believe that such exemptions would have been granted to any citizen in Ceylon especially after a period of political turmoil. The comparison with the privileges enjoyed by the brahmins of India is not convincing, as Budal was not a Brahmin.

3. Dr. Paranavitana asks: "Did the king who issued the grant expect his line to come to an end with the demise of the grandsons of a person older than himself?" I submit that no king issued this grant.

4. Dr. Paranavitana's arguments on palaeographic evidence fall on his own statement, "The Sinhalese script has remained without much change for periods of a century or more at times." No one has claimed that the document is more than a century later than Vijayabāhu I. In any case the archaic nature of a few characters only of an inscription cannot be adduced to prove precisely the date of the document.

5. The late features of certain words were not cited as a basis for my view but only pointed out as corroborative evidence.

FIELD NOTES ON THE ARABIC LITERATURES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN : MUHAMMADU BELLO

By W. E. N. KENSDALE

IN TWO PREVIOUS articles in this *Journal*¹ the writer presented lists of the Arabic writings of the two brothers Shehu Usumanu and Waziri Abdullahi dan Fodio from information acquired in Nigeria in 1954 and 1955. The present article, written in Bahrain, is intended to complete these notes² by listing the Arabic works of Shehu Usumanu's son, Muhammadu Bello.

MUHAMMADU BELLO

Bello, the warrior son of the leader of the Fulani *jihād*, succeeded his father on the throne of the empire of Sokoto in 1817. It was an empire that had been won largely by his own efforts in his father's name; its capital, Sokoto, had been built by Bello himself in 1809 after Shehu Usumanu had retired from active life and divided the administration of his territories between Bello and Waziri Abdullahi in the previous year.

Bello's share of the administration comprised the eastern provinces whilst his uncle Abdullahi was responsible for the western half of the empire. Shehu Usumanu, however, spent his last years in his son's capital and it was there that he eventually died at the age of seventy-three. In accordance with the Shehu's dying wish, Bello was installed as *amīr al-mu'minīn* and assumed his father's prerogatives.

Abdullahi, although disgruntled, was not strong enough to oppose his nephew and made a virtue out of necessity after Bello magnanimously assisted him to put down a serious revolt in the western provinces. With statesmanship of a high order, Bello and Abdullahi succeeded in forming a dual empire in which the paramountcy of Sokoto was never challenged, and yet the emirs of the western half of the empire paid their tribute to Abdullahi and his successors at Gwandu, while those of the eastern half paid theirs to Sokoto.

¹ Field Notes on the Arabic Literature of the Western Sudan : Shehu Usumanu dan Fodio (1955), and Field Notes on the Arabic Literature of the Western Sudan : Waziri Abdullahi dan Fodio (1956).

² For further descriptions of the Arabic literature of this area, see the writer's *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the University Library, Ibadan, Nigeria*. 3 fascs. Ibadan, Ibadan University Library, 1955-7, and The Arabic Manuscript Collection, University College, Ibadan, in *W.A.L.A. News (Bulletin of the West African Library Association)*, vol. 2, No. 2, 1955.

Bello came to a throne established by wars of conquest, and throughout his reign was obliged to fight for survival against both invaders and rebels. Although some of his victories were harshly exploited, he succeeded in achieving the prosperity and stability of the state, and by the time of his death in 1837 the empire of Sokoto was secure.

In his life-time Bello won for himself the reputation of being patient and just, honest and sympathetic, devoted to study and the encouragement of learning despite his military pre-occupations. He was described to the writer by a Nigerian mallam, as having been "a man who would fight all day and then devote the night to study and writing"; there is some truth in this description to judge by the eighty-two titles of his compositions listed below. On the other hand, Bello and his Fulanis were accused of wanton destruction of books and libraries by their opponents.

The traveller Clapperton visited Bello at Sokoto and described him as "red, tall, and bald, with a tufted beard".

The list of Bello's works below has been compiled in the same way as the earlier list of Usumanu's works; the same abbreviations have been employed to denote the libraries in which MSS. can be consulted. For those marked "I" reference may now be made to the published Ibadan Catalogue for further details: the Ibadan Catalogue also contains descriptions of many of the Lugard Memorial Hall MSS. which were borrowed and microfilmed.

LIST OF TITLES

1. *ādāb al-musāfir*. G.
2. *uṣūl as-siyāsa wa-kaifiyat al-makhlāṣ min umūr ar-ri'āsa*. K. (There is another MS. in the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Orients, Hamburg, see Brass: *Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte des Fulreiches Sokoto* (Der Islam x, 1920), p. 6.)
3. *ifādat al-ikhwān*. S.
4. *al-inṣāf fī dhikr mā fī masā'il al-khilāfa min wafā' wa-khilāf*. I.
5. *infāq al-maisūr fī ta'rīkh bilād at-takrūr*. L. (This work has been published, see: *Infaku'l Maisuri*. Edited by C. E. J. Whitting and the staff of the School for Arabic Studies, Kano. London, Luzac, 1951. For an English version, see: *The rise of the Sokoto Fulani, being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of the Infaku'l Maisuri . . . by E. J. Arnett*. Kano, 1922. Cf. also, G.A.L. Suppl. ii, p. 894.)

6. al-badr al-lāmi' fi 'l-wird al-jāmi'. BN., K.
7. al-budūr al-mufasssara. S.
8. birr al-wālidain. L. (see: fawā'id mujmala).
9. bayān al-arkān wash-shurūt. S.
10. tabshīr al-ikhwān. (G. attributes a work by this title to Usumanu ḍan Fodio. Juneido, Wazirin Sokoto, maintains that it must correctly be attributed to Muhammadu Bello.)
11. at-tahrīr. S.
12. (takhmīs qaṣīdat al-burda lil-būṣīrī). (See Al-Hājj Sa'id's history of Sokoto in *Tedzkiret en-nisiān, texte arabe*, p. 190.)
13. (takhmīs qaṣīdat bānat su'ād li-ka'b ibn zuhair). (See: *Tedzkiret en-nisiān, texte arabe*, p. 190, also.)
14. (takhmīs hamziyat al-būṣīrī). (See: *Tedzkiret en-nisiān, texte arabe*, p. 190, also.)
15. at-tarjumān. K.
16. at-tasrīr. S.
17. talkhīṣ maṣūgh al-lujain al-musammā biṭ-ṭibb al-lujain. K.
18. tamhīd al-'imād fimā zād 'alā 'umdat al-'ibād. G.
19. tanbīh al-ikhwān. K. (Not to be identified with the work of the same title by Usumanu ḍan Fodio.)
20. tanbīh al-afhām. S.
21. tanbīh ahl al-'uqūl. S.
22. tanbīh al-jahūl. G.
23. tanbīh al-jamā'a. G., S.
24. tanbīh ar-rāqid. G., S.
25. tanbīh as-sāmi'. S.
26. tanbīh aṣ-ṣāhib 'alā aḥkām al-makāsib. I.
27. tanbīh al-'imād. S.
28. tanbīh al-fuhūm 'alā wujūb ijtināb ahl aṣh-sha'badha wan-nujūm. I.
29. tanbīh al-ghāfil fi 't-tawassul. G., S.
30. at-tanbihāt al-wādiḥāt fimā jā' fi 'l-bāqiyāt aṣ-ṣāliḥāt. BN.
31. at-tawassul bi-khair ar-rusul. K.
32. jalā' aṣ-ṣudūr 'ammā yaḥtāḥ(?) fihā min ṣuwar(?) al-ghurūr. BN. (incomplete), I., K., L.
33. jam' an-nuqūl. S.
34. al-jumla al-munabbihā fihā al-ishāra al-mūqīza. K.
35. durar az-zāhiriya (sic). S.
36. adh-dhikrā. S.
37. ar-ribāṭ wal-ḥirāsa. I.

38. raf' al-ishtibāh fi 't-ta'alluq bi-allāh wa-bi-ahl allāh. K.
39. raf' ash-shubha fi 't-tashabbuh bil-kafara waẓ-ẓalama wal-jahala. L.
40. rauḍat al-afkār. (This work was translated by Sir H. R. Palmer in *Journal of the African Society*, vol. xv, 1915-16, under the title: "Western Sudan history, being the Raudthāt ul-Afkāri," etc. It was also one of the sources quoted by E. J. Arnett for his *Gazetteer of Sokoto Province*, London, 1920: *raulāt el-afkari*.)
41. sard al-kalām fīmā jarā bainanā wa-bain 'abd as-salām. I. (Also one of Arnett's sources.)
42. (as-) saif al-mashlūl. S.
43. sharḥ aṣ-ṣuwar. G.
44. sharḥ al-qaṣīda aṭ-ṭā'iya al-badamāṣiya. I.
45. shifā' al-asqām fī ma'rifat madārik al-aḥkām. BN.
46. shams az-ẓahira. G., S.
47. ḍiyā' al-'uqūl. S.
48. aṭ-ṭibb al-hayyin fī aujā' al-'ain. BN.
49. 'ujālat ar-rākib fī 'ṭ-ṭibb aṣ-ṣā'ib. BN.
50. 'ilm (al-) jumal an-naḥwiya. S.
51. ghaith ash-sh'būb fī tauṣiyat al-amīr ya'qūb. I.
52. ghaith al-wabl fī sirat al-imām al-'adl. K.
53. faḍl al-fātiha. S.
54. fawā'id mujmala fīmā jā' fī 'l-birr waṣ-ṣila. L. (Also known as *birr al-wālidain*.)
55. qadh az-zinād fī amr hādḥā 'l-jihād. BN.
56. (qaṣā'id). (See Al-Ḥājj Sa'id: *History of Sokoto*. Translated by C. E. J. Whitting. Kano (1949), p. 3, "During that raid he paraphrased in quintuplicate rhyme the Hamziyat of al-Busiri, the poem of 'The Mantle' of al-Busiri also, and the poems of Shaikh Uthmanu, which he had composed in the vernacular.")
57. qaṣīdat ath-thulāth fī madḥ an-nabī. I.
58. qaṣīdat . . . Muḥammad Bello yamdaḥ al-ghuzāt min aṣḥābihi. I.
59. (al-qaṣīda al-hamziya). I.
60. qawā'id aṣ-salāḥ ma'a fawā'id al-falāḥ. I.
61. qaul as-sanā. S.
62. al-qaul al-mabdhūl fī masā'il al-ghulūl. G., S.
63. al-qaul al-marham fī aḥkām az-zinā bi-dhāt al-maḡnam. I.
64. al-qaul al-man'ūt fī 'n-nafaqa wal-qasm fī 'l-mabīt. I.
65. al-qaul al-mauhūb fī ajwibat as'ilat al-amīr ya'qūb. I.

66. kashf al-ghitā'. S., W.
67. kashf al-qinā' wal-astār. S.
68. kaff al-ikhwān. G.
69. kaff al-jilānī. G.
70. kifāyat al-muhtadīn. S. (G. attributes a work with this title to Usumanu ḍan Fodio.)
71. al-maḥṣūl. S.
72. mir'āt al-qalb. S.
73. marḥiyat 'ammihi 'abd allāh (ibn fūdī). I.
74. masā'il al-jihād. S.
75. al-masā'il fi jamm ghafir. K.
76. miftāḥ as-sadād fi aqsām ahl hādhihi 'l-bilād. (There is a MS. in the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Orients, Hamburg, see Brass: *Eine neue Quelle*, etc., p. 6.)
77. miftāḥ as-sadād fi sha'n arba'at al-autād. G.
78. naṣḥ kāfī wa-lil-amrāḍ shāfi. I.
79. an-naṣiḥa bi-taqrīb mā yajib 'alā 'āmmat al-umma. S. (W. attributes this to Abdullahi ḍan Fodio. There are MSS. of a work with this title in L. and I., but neither bears the name of the author or the date of composition.)
80. an-naṣiḥa al-waḍī'a fi bayān arḥub ad-dunyā ra's kull khaṭī'a. K.
81. nūr al-fajr. G., S., W.
82. (al-hā'iya). I.

faggot-gatherers (ṛṣis) [i.e. ruled by Rāvaṇa], which was capable of granting all desires, was burnt.

Pīṣitāśinām anu-diśam sphuṭatām
 sphuṭatām jagāma parivihvala-tā,
 ha l a t ā janena bahudhā caritam
 caritam mahattva-rahitam mahatā.

[*kāñcī-yamakam*]

8 The confusion of the rākṣasas, who dashed about in all directions, became evident; even a great person often behaves in a manner devoid of greatness when confused [by fear].

continuity of narration). The technical terms added to BHATṬI's examples are those given to them by his commentators.

[Hanūmān, the monkey-messenger of Prince Rāma to the court of the ogre-king Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā, who has forcefully abducted Rāma's wife, Princess Sītā, after having met faithful Sītā in the seclusion of her aśoka-grove, ruins this park.]

Atha sa valka-dukūla-kuthādibhiḥ
parigato jvala-duddhata-vāladhiḥ,
udapatad divam ākula-locanair
nṛ-ripubhiḥ sabhayair abhivikṣitaḥ.

X.1

Then he (Hanūmān), with his tail blazing and uplifted, enveloped in bark, fine fabric, cloths, etc., leapt up into the sky, watched by frightened rākṣasas with agitated eyes.

Raṇa-panḍito 'grya-vibudhāri-pure
kalaham sa Rāma-mahitaḥ kṛtavān,
jvalad agni Rāvaṇa-grhaṁ ca balāt
kala-haṁsa Rāmam ahitaḥ kṛtavān.

2

He, skilled in battle, honoured by Rāma, accomplishing his object, hostile, caused tumult in the city of the foe of the chief god, and by force caused Rāvaṇa's swan-delighting palace to be set ablaze.

Nikhilābhāvan na sa-haṁsa-sahasā

[nikṣepāda-yamakam]

jvalanena pūḥ prabhavatā bhavatā,
vanitā-janena viyatā viyatā
tri-purāpadam nagam itā gamitā.

3

The whole city standing on the mountain summit became mirthless, with fire becoming dominant, and was reduced to the plight of Tripura, with its women-folk dispersing through the air.

[pādānta-yamakam]

Sarasām sa-rasām parimucya tanuṁ
patatām patatām kakubho bahuśaḥ,
sa-kalaiḥ sakalaiḥ paritaḥ karuṇair
uditairuditair iva khaṁ nitam.

4

The air was filled all round with all the sweet cries, pitiful like lamentations, of birds flying in all directions, leaving the watery body (mass) of lakes.

[pādādi-yamakam]

Na ca kāmcana kāncana-sadma-citiṁ
na kapiḥ śikhiṇā śikhiṇā samayaut,
na ca na dravatā dravatā parito
hima-hāna-kṛtā na kṛtā kva ca na.

5

The monkey enveloped every group of golden buildings in flaming fire, and everywhere, all around, melting [of them] was caused by the rushing fire [lit. that causes disappearance of cold].

[pāda-madhya-yamakam]

Avasitaṁ hasitaṁ prasitaṁ, mudā
vilasitaṁ hrasitaṁ smara-bhāsitaṁ,
na sa-madāḥ pramadā hata-saṁmadā
pura-hitaṁ vihitam na samihitam.

6

The continuous laughter ceased, the sport joyfully inflamed by the love-god dwindled, the women became joyless, their pride destroyed, the desired welfare of the city was not brought about.

[cakravāla-yamakam]

Samiddha-śaraṇā dīptā
samid-dha-śaraṇādīp-tā

/ dehe Laṅkā matêśvarā,
/ dehê 'laṅ-kāma-têśvarā.

7

[samudga-yamakam]

Laṅkā, where Īśvara [Śiva] is worshipped, blazing in its interior with burning buildings, [the city] protected by the leader (in flames) of the destroyer of

faggot-gatherers (ṛṣis) [i.e. ruled by Rāvaṇa], which was capable of granting all desires, was burnt.

Piṣitāśinām anu-diśam sphuṭatām
sphuṭatām jagāma parivihvala-tā,
hal a tā janena bahudhā caritam
caritam mahattva-rahitam mahatā.

[*kāñcī-yamakam*]

8

The confusion of the rākṣasas, who dashed about in all directions, became evident; even a great person often behaves in a manner devoid of greatness when confused [by fear].

Na gajā naga-jā dayitā dayitā,
vi-gataṁ vigataṁ, lalitaṁ lalitaṁ,
pramadā pra-madā 'ma-hatā mahatā-
maraṇaṁ maraṇaṁ samayāt samayāt.

[*yamakāvalī*]

9

Mountain-bred favourite elephants were not kept, the birds' flight was stopped, pleasure was checked, women lost their joy, [as if] struck by disease, death without battle came upon the great (warriors) in a moment.

Na vānaraiḥ parākrāntām
na vā naraiḥ parākrāntām

/ mahadbhir bhīma-vikramaiḥ,
/ dadāha nagarim kapiḥ. 10

[*a-yukma-pāda-y*]

The monkey burnt the city which had not been attacked by other monkeys,
[or by] great and valiant [gods], or by men.

Drutaṁ drutaṁ vahni-samāgataṁ gataṁ
mahim ahina- dyuti- rocitaṁ citam,
samaṁ samantād apa-gopuraṁ puraṁ
paraiḥ parair apy a-nir-ākṛtaṁ kṛtaṁ.

[*pādādy-anta-y*]

11

The city, a [golden comm.] pile quickly melted, enveloped in fire, falling to the ground, illuminated by a mighty blaze, becoming uniform all around, with its gates gone—the city unconquered even by mighty foes.

Naśyanti dadarśa vṛndāni kapīndraḥ,
hārīṇy abalānām hārīṇy abalānām.

12

The noble monkeys saw charming bevvies of helpless women running away, holding their necklaces.

Nārīṇām apanūdudr na deñā-kheṭṭa-
nārīṇāmala-salilā hiranya-vāpyaḥ,
nārīṇām anala-parīta-patra-puṣpān
nārīṇām abhavad upetya śarma vṛkṣān.

[vr̥ta-yamakam]

Atha lulita patatri- mālāṁ
ruguṇāsana-bāṇa-keśara-ta mālāṁ,
sa vanāṁ vivikta-mālāṁ
Sītāṁ draṣṭuṁ jagāmālāṁ.

[puṣpa-yamakam]

Ghana-girindra-vilaṅghana-śālinā
vana-gatā vana-ja-dyuti-locanā,
jana-matā dadṛṣe Janakātmajā
taru-mṛgeṇa taru-sthala-śāyini.

[pādādi-madhya-y]

Kāntā sahamānā / duḥkhaṁ cyuta-bhūṣā,
Rāmasya viyuktā / kāntā saha-mānā.

[vipatha-yamakam]

Mitam avadad udāraṁ tām Hanūmān mudāraṁ
“Raghu-vṛṣabha-sakāśaṁ yāmi devi! prakāśam,
Tava vidita-viṣādo drṣṭa-kṛtsnāmiṣādaḥ
śriyam anīśam avantaṁ parvataṁ mālāvantam.”

[madhyānta-y]

Hanumat with joy addressed her in few but significant words :
“O queen, I am going at once openly to Rāma’s presence,

the golden tanks, whose clear water had ceased to flow,
did not dispel the women’s bodily distress, nor was
there shelter for the enemies’ wives by resorting to
the trees, whose leaves and flowers had been destroyed
by the fire.

Then he (Hanumat) to see Sītā went to the grove
where the flocks of birds had disappeared, where the
asana and bāṇa and keśara and tamālā trees were
broken, their flowering sprays removed.

The monkey, skilled in leaping over cloud-mountains,
saw Janaka’s daughter in the grove lying at the
foot of a tree, [the lady] respected by [all] people,
her eyes with the lustre of lotuses.

Rāma’s beautiful wife, enduring misery,
without ornaments, separated [yet] proud.

17

having learnt of your distress and seen all the flesh-eaters, [I go]
to Mt. Mālyavat, that ever maintains its glory (beauty)."

Udapatad viyad apragamah parai-
r ucitam unnati-mat-pṛthu-sattva-vat,
rucitamun nati-mat pṛthu-sattva-vat
pratividhāya vapur bhaya-danī dviṣām.

[*garbhā-yamakam*]

18 Not to be overtaken by his foes, he sprang into the
air, that was shining, elevated and full of large
creatures, making his own body bring delight to the
happy, reverencing [the gods], full of extensive *sattva*
and terrifying his foes.

Babhau Marutvān vikṛtaḥ sa-mudro-
babhau Marutvān vikṛtaḥ sa-mudraḥ
babhau Marutvān vikṛtaḥ samudro
babhau Marutvān vikṛtaḥ sa mudraḥ. 19

[*śarva-yamakam*]

The son of the wind (Hanūmat), who had done various deeds (or : had cut down the grove),
and had the token (given him by Sītā), shone bright ; Indra, who had been altered (i.e.
humiliated by Rāvaṇa) shone [rejoiced : Jayamaṅgala] in company with the *apsaras* ; the
ocean, transformed by the wind (of Hanūmat's flight) was bright [became transformed :
Jayam.] ; the joy-giving wind-god showed himself altered (gentle).

Abhiyātā varam tuṅgam
bhū-bhṛtaṁ ruciram puraḥ,
karkasam prathitam dhāma
sa-sattvaṁ puṣkarêkṣaṇam. 20

[Hanūmat] will go to meet the excellent noble king,
beautiful, stout (hairy) of breast, famous, strong,
lotus-eyed abode (of virtues).

Abhiyātā varam tuṅgam
bhū-bhṛtaṁ ruciram puraḥ,
karkasam prasthitam dhāma
sa-sattvaṁ puṣkarêkṣaṇam. 21

[By Hanūmat] approaching the mountain from the
city, the high, bright, rough space (abode),
[which obstructed the wind (or : sun)] was traversed
[which obstructed the wind (or : sun)] was traversed

The yamaka-stanzas (above) BhK X.2-22 belong to that part of the poem followed in the OJR XI.1-7 (below). Though the text is available in print,³ the peculiarities of the Javanese script must have contributed to much assonance being overlooked—and this is one of the passages most notable for assonance. So it is reprinted here in Latin script and though nearly the whole poem has been translated into Dutch prose in seventeen issues of a journal between 1917 and 1936⁴, it has seemed worth while to make a new one in English, the language most likely to be understood by the different nationalities that study OJ.⁵

The metre used by the poet of the OJR for the description of this devastation is a variety of Daṇḍaka, not to be found in the BhK but occurring repeatedly in the OJR.⁶ The impression in print of this type of metre—of which the OJR demonstrates two different kinds—is that of metrical prose.⁷ We find it used for the description of destruction (here, XI.1-2 Hanūmān sets the palace in Lēṅkā ablaze, causing general chaos and panic) and wholesale slaughter (XXII.50-3, where gruesome havoc is wrought among the monkey-troops by Kumbhā-karna, Rāwana's terrible brother), and also for the ethical admonitions given by Prince Aṅgada, heir apparent to the monkey-throne, at a crisis, and for the home-coming of Rāma and Sītā in Ayodhyā (XXVI.22-5).

But though the assonancing Daṇḍaka-metres appear to be used preferably for descriptive and lyrical purposes, they are impracticable for yamaka. Text and translation of the OJR XI.1-7 have been included here to give an idea of the closeness of meaning in the Skr and OJ texts and the character of assonance; for the yamakas, which the poet of the OJR made in imitation of those in the BhK, we shall have to look elsewhere in the poem, further on in this paper.

Since both poets were here mainly preoccupied with "sound-garb", the contents of the poems appear less closely related than elsewhere.

Atha sēdēn umurub ikū sañ Hanūmān,⁸ umañkat tikāwak nirāgōñ gunuñ Meru-tulyān an ā n āga-pāśāpasañ sāk paśāt u tatāś śirṇa rampuñ pēgat de nikā bāhu sañ Bāy-putrômēsat śighra ākāśa-gā mī, mīrir tāñ anñ ghōra yāgh ūr pitādrēs riwut pāṭa hūmyus musus yōmēlēk ta n lēb.

XI.1a

Thereupon, at that moment Hanūmān's tail blazed up; he hunched his body and became as big as Mount Meru; the snake-bond was broken, smashed, torn into a hundred pieces, rent asunder, destroyed, shattered by the hands of the son of the Wind God. Immediately he leaped up into the sky; the wind blew violently; the thunder was fearful and squalls and storms came quickly; dust whirled and tornadoed with a rustling sound.

Kadi ta inu bu ban ya mañkin muru b tēka n ēk ū nirāpan katūb de nikañ Bāyu-bajrē sēdēnyār⁹ ibēr; tulya sa n hya n Lēmah mañlaya n mwa n n Apuy kyāti Kālāgu; rōdrār d unu n ta n n umah n kā ri n antahp u rāp ū r wa rūpanya sa - śrī sa - śobhā; ya tēkāñ tinuwan nirāneka-warṇa n ya n ā nā-widha

XI.1b

As though it had been fanned [by the storm] his tail blazed more and more, for it had been struck by the thunderbolt of the Wind God, while he (= Hanūman) was flying, like the divine Earth together with the Fire called Destruction-Fire. He was terrifying, going in the direction of the houses there in the women's quarter [of the palace]. Their splendour was unprecedented, they were magnificent, brilliant. They were set on fire by him and manifold were their colours [as they blazed].

Paḍa maka-parup u h n ā puy yan dilah ri n lēmah; kapwa rēm pak rēmuk, mañkana n mañḍa pāpan parēñ yan katu nwa n saka n yōmañin wrēddhi tēkāñ apuy, ujwalāla, kumlab dilahnyēñ lañit; nirbhayāt a h man a h sañ Hanūmān mulat kādbhūtēka n watēk rākṣasē sor, kaso ran ka sū ran [ka wira n]¹⁰ ka dhira n tuwi. XI.1c

XI.1c

All of them crackled in the fire and the flames flickered on the earth. All of them were overwhelmed, destroyed; so also were the *mañḍapas*,¹¹ for as soon as their pillars blazed the fire was increased more and more. The flames flashed as they moved, their tongues streaming into the sky. Undaunted was Hanūmān's mind at seeing the amazement of all those rākṣasas below him; they were surpassed by his courage, [heroism], steadfastness even.¹²

Paḍa ta ya mututu n t utu knyān ka gōmañ kapūhañ tumēñhātakut nton kaḍatwa n katunwa n; k utug tañ n apuy lor kidul Kāla-Mṛtyūpamanyōmalad ta n dilah tu lya tēlatnya; mōlah mēlēk tañ kukus arddha mawya n - wyañ ēkēl i kēl yēka rambut ni tēḍasnya; rodrāñ ka ton kā tara n rākṣasāghūrnitāwū humuñ. XI.1d

XI.1d

All of them had distorted mouths, terrified and bewildered they looked on frightened at seeing the amazement of all those rākṣasas below him; they were surpassed by his courage, [heroism], steadfastness even.

The fire blazed north and south, just as if it were the God of Death at work. The smoke was very reddish, curled and coiled itself like hair on the head, terrible to behold. The *rākṣasas* were terrified and made a tumultuous clamour.

Tri-pura-pura¹³ murub tinunwan, Bhaṭārśwarānu ṇ paḍanyān tēūh, taṇ ṇ umah mā s ya ma s yūh, ma sāk ka ṇ sakāgō ṇ maṇik-ba-jra ba-jrōpamanyān makas; kāsyaṣiṭ tēkanān Apsari riṇ pu rāp ṇ zwa, yar ton apy kapwa tēkagupuy, kweh kapōyēh, gēyuh ya n kayuh ken i cetinya; ma ṇluh um a ṇḍuḥ huy a ṇ y ā ṇ ēlīh. XI.2a

When Tripura's palace¹³ blazed, having been set on fire, it was comparable to Bhaṭāra Iśwara's Golden House when it melted and was destroyed. The great pillars made of pearls and jewels, as hard as jewels they were, were wrecked. Piteous were the heavenly nymphs in that unsurpassed palace; seeing the fire all of them became agitated, many out of necessity unmined. Dejected, they clasped their servants by their skirts. They burst into tears, felt oppressed by the heat and exhausted.

Talaga-talaga ri ṇ kaḍatwan winatwan ya de ni ṇ maṇik candra-kāntē daṇū, ṇḍan mēne suṣka yāsūt ya kēsēp. Sēkar ni ṇ ṇ aśokānasut yan kasūban panas rūkṣa sakwehnya yāki ṇ maṇik ṇ; manuknyānanis mōni kolāḥal ā w ṇ walā, cakra-wākāgēlāna, ṇ pēluṇi haṇsa māśa saśokāśwarāsū ika ṇ sārasa. XI.2b

The many ponds among the palace buildings which were formerly surrounded with pearls and moon-stones were already dried up, they were dry, [their water] absorbed. The flowers of the *aśoka* trembled; when struck by the heat they were destroyed; all of them shrivelled. The birds were sorrowful and wept; the *waṭa*-birds made screaming and shrieking sounds; the *caḥrawāṭa*-ducks felt dejected; the snipe and geese were trapped and mourned; the water-fowl screamed and cried.

Bala makabala sah; Īka ṇ rākṣasōsah mēsāt ikā riṇ ākāsa yāpan katunwan pakuwanya, tātan paśēśa-gēsēṇ śīrṇa; heman liman ikā ri ṇ ālāna yāglāna de niṇ ṇ apuy; ma ṇkaṇa ṇ tuṇḡaṇa tuṇḡa-tuṇḡal ya tātan haṇāhni manunḡaṇ riyaṇriḥ lumumpat luput ri ṇ apy yāṇliput. XI.2c

The troops were spread everywhere. The uneasy *rākṣasas* sprang into the sky for their barracks had been burned down, none remained after the destruction. Alas, the elephants yonder [tied] to their poles became weakened because of the fire. In the same way the horses were completely abandoned; there was nobody to ride them. They tried to jump and to escape from the fire that surrounded them.

Jalak a-jar-a-jaran bayan syuṇi puyuh kweh pējah muṇḡu ri ṇ paṇjarē paṇca-raikaṇi hēmās, tan katon tan

Tātā rakwān kīn onkōn Raghu-tanaya apan nton ikañ cihñi makweñ.

Ndah manwita ñ hulun mājara ri mahārāja Rāmābhirāma."

The son of Bāyu approached, bent low at the feet of Janaka's daughter and forthwith spoke :

" O Princess ! I am here, the son of the Wind God ; I am indeed the messenger of the Lord Rāma the Excellent.

It is evident that I have been commanded by him [to come here], thou seest it from numerous signs.

And now, may I be given leave to report to the mahārāja, the beautiful Rāma."

Nā lin sañ Bāyu-putra krama lumaku mulih sāmpun amwīt anēmbah.

Rin ñ ākāsār mēsat mañlayan atisaya rin kādbhutātayanta rin gōñ.

Gambhira krūra-rūpōgratara kadi gērēñ rin lañit ghōra gēñtēr.

Humyus ta ñ Bāyu-bajrēñ gagana-tala pēpēt dewatā kapwa kagyat.

Thus spoke the son of Bāyu ; thereon he departed and returned, having taken leave and made obeisance.

Into the sky he leaped and flew off, most miraculous, being wondrously and extraordinarily big.

He made a deep roaring sound, its nature was most ferocious, it was like thunder booming frightfully in the

A thunder-storm raged in the heavens covering them ; all the gods were taken unawares. [sky.

Mōlah wwai ni ñ tasik ghūripitatara gumuruh de ny añin sañ Hanūmān,

Kagyat sēsī nikañ sāgara kadi ginu gah nāga kolāhalāwū,

luñhā ta ñ bāyu mādrēs kayu-kayu ya katūb kampitēka ñ Mahēndra.

Sa-kweh ni ñ wānarāñther kaburu kabarasat sañsayē satru śakti.

The waters of the ocean were set in motion and shook with a thundering noise, caused by Hanūmai's storm.

Everything in the ocean was startled as though shaken awake ; the snakes cried out and shrieked.

When the wind went by with such speed the trees were hurled about and Mount Mahēndra shuddered.

All the monkeys who were waiting were pursued and flew away, afraid of a powerful foe.

A Western student reading the Daṇḍaka-stanzas 1-2 above is reminded of Greek choruses, as much for the laden atmosphere expressed in words as for the difficulty of analysing the power of these words. An attempt to analyse

is out of the question here; we can merely state that neither in *Dandaka-* nor in ensuing *Sragdharā-* metre 3-7, rich as they are in assonance, could we find that systematized assonance called *yamaka*.

A priori we cannot expect to discover in the OJR the large amount of variety of yamaka which the BhK offers (not to mention the wealth in DANDIN'S Kāvyaḍarsa),²⁷ the vehicular language being completely different. Still it proved possible to find seven out of BHARTṬI's twenty different examples applied in the OJR which contains no less than some 240 yamakas.

Four of these different types of yamaka have been printed and translated elsewhere¹⁵; in the second half of this paper, moreover, examples of the following types will be inserted: KĀÑCI-, PUSPA-, CITRA-, PĀDĀT-, and VRNTA- or VYAPETA-YAMAKA.

The very difficult PĀDĀDYANTA-YAMAKA is scarcely represented at all in the OJR; the first two examples are given because of the excellence of their form, the last one because the contents are interesting and can be compared with those of the BhK.

[Situation : The ogresses whose task it is to guard and watch Princess Sītā in the seclusion of the āśoka-grove near Laukū, under the impression of the favourable turn in Sītā's fortune prepare a nice little party for her during the night. the most hospitable hours in a tropical climate.]

T u h u - t u h u d e w i w a n s a j a m a n u l u s ,
s a r i - s a r i t a n l e n m ā n a w a w i n u w u s ,
d u g a - d u g a d ā t ā s ā d h u s i r a p u t u s ,
t a n a l a n - a l a n w a d w ā n i s i r a h u w u s .

In truth the princess' lineage was perfect indeed, the essence of perfection, no other human being so, it was said, she was honest, generous, and perfectly pious ; without restraint her servants [obeyed her].

ma ē r u - t u r ū roṇ-ṇon piṇaka tī a m,
t u m ē ṇ a - t ē ṇ ā riṇ candra-wilasita [m].¹⁷

They kept her company wearing flowers on their heads,
while singing they strolled about amusing themselves ;
For moments they laid themselves down on leaves by way of mattresses,
time and again looking upward for the appearance of the moon.

[Situation : Rāma afterwards greatly enjoys the results of the fratricidal struggle between the monkey-kings Bali (Vālin) and Sugrīva, in which he had helped Sugrīva.]

N ā liṇ n i r ē saṇ ṇ ʾ ri wehākēn ta ṇ
k ē m ba ṇ hēmās¹⁸ riṇ hulu luh kumém bēṇ,
s ā m puṇ ka si m p ē n kawawé saṇ ant ē n,¹⁹
mūreki niecā ri hurip nirāsih.²⁰

VI.196

Thus [Bāli] spoke to his younger brother [Sugrīva], presenting (laying) the
flowers of gold¹⁸ on his head, the tears being barely restrained. When those
flowers brought to Sugrīva had been laid aside,¹⁹ he fainted away, not wanting
to live, full of compassion.²⁰

Dadau sa dayitāṇ bhrātre
rājyaṇ sandīśya bhogēś ca
Vālin gave his wife and choice gold garland to his brother (Sugrīva), and having
handed over (to him) his kingdom and (royal) appurtenances he died, overcome
by his wounds.

I have found only some eight VṚNTA- or VYAPETA-YAMAKAS in the OJR ; the stanza XVI.15 (below) belongs to the part of the poem borrowed from the BhK, but stanza BhK XIII.37, though corresponding as to position among the stanzas, in contents does not correspond and therefore has been omitted.

[Situation : Description of Mount Suwela in the isle of Lénkā, which by its loveliness is such a revelation that the whole of the early part of sarga XVI is devoted to a description of it.]

Mandāra rāmya sumēkar kadi sāmpun ahyas,
mandān aṁin ya ta tumūb ya tēbēi tamolah,
mandān ulah juga kadi pwa masō manuisui,
mandōni ni n bhamara matta akēn n ujarnya.

XVI.15

Beautiful *mandāra*-trees were blossoming as if they had adorned themselves,
and a soft breeze stirred them, uninterruptedly and continually,
its manner gentle as though going forward to welcome them;
and by way of speech the love-drunk bees hummed.

PĀDĀNTA-YAMAKA is hardly at all represented in the OJR; its examples are not too perfect, and the stanza OJR XIV.21 (below) in contents is rather far from its Skr prototype the BhK VIII.37 (printed below).

[Situation: Kumbhakarna, the most terrific of ogres, younger brother to King Rāwana, has been awakened from deep sleep (caused by his enormous appetite), to give his advice on the invasion of Lēkā by monkeys.]

Wruh siré naya nikān in-ulih-ulih,
sāri-sāri niñ ujar in-in-ēt-in-ēt;
buddhi-pūrwa kahuwus mañ-añ-ēn-añ-ēn,
yar sahur kadi gērēh swara matērēh.

XIV.21

He knew the policy that was being deliberated,
the essence of the words was well recalled.
After consideration and being aware of [the facts]
he answered like thunder, with a loud voice.

Ghoṣeṇa tena pratilabdha-sañjīo nidrāvilākṣaḥ śruta-kārya-sāraḥ
sphuraddhanaḥ sāmbar ivāntarikṣe vākyam tatōbhāṣata Kumbhakarnaḥ. BhK XII.61
Having got back his consciousness at that sound,
Kumbhakarna, with his eyes dull from slumber,
listening to the substance of the business in hand
said his say like a roaring cloud in a sky filled with water:

(To be continued)

¹ My booklet "The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin, with special reference to the problem of interpolation in kakawins", Verh.Kon.Inst. T.L.Vkk. XVI, Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1955, quoted as VKI.XVI.

² Caukhambā-edition. For making the translation I owe thanks to my colleague C. A. Rylands, M.A.

³ Rāmāyaṇa, Oudjavaansch Heldendicht, uitgegeven door H. Kern, Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage, 1900.

⁴ Sarga XI by Dr. H. H. Juynboll in Bijdr. T.L.Vkk. Kon.Inst.(BKI) 81 (1925), pp. 121-133.

⁵ See the appearance of two recent Ph.D. theses (Utrecht/New Delhi) on Skr/OJ texts, written in English; Dr. de Casparis' Prasasti Indonesia II and Dr. van Lohuizen's Beginnings of Old-Javanese Historical Literature in the BKI, etc.

⁶ R.Ng.Dr.Poerbatjaraka, Het Oud-Javaansche Rāmāyaṇa (Tijdschrift Ind. T.L.Vkk. (TBG) 72/2, 1932, pp. 151-214, esp. pp. 206-7).

⁷ Dr. R. Goris in Djawa, Tijds.v.h.Java-Inst.7 (1927), pp. 268-9; Poerbatjaraka's refutation in TBG 72 (1932).

⁸ I introduced some interpunctuation.

⁹ Text: *sēḍēnyār*.

¹⁰ Square brackets by H. Kern.

¹¹ Open hall on pillars, Mod.Jav. *pēṇḍapa*.

¹² Monkey-worship, so predominant in India, is rather rare in Indonesia, and throughout the OJR Hanūmān is seen as an extraordinary *monkey*, not as *The Saviour*—not to mention the other monkeys.

¹³ Only Rāwāṇa's palace can be meant here. Tripura was built by the Asura architect Maya; in OJR II.57 Tripura is conquered by the bow which was a heirloom in the family of King Janaka, father to Sītā; Rāma manages to bend it; Sītā mentions this feat in OJR XVII.34. Tripura is also a name for Śiwa. Cp. Dr. J. G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia II, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956, pp. 266, 278, n. 150, 291, 298.

¹⁴ The pun *śoka-aśoka* necessarily gets lost in the translation.

¹⁵ Kāñci-yamaka (OJR II.19) and pāda-madhya-yamaka (OJR XII.38, 40 and 45) in my paper "Love in Lēṅkā", shortly to appear in Pādādi-yamaka (OJR XXIV.111) and puṣpa-yamaka (XXIV.115; nearly all the other stanzas of this episode are pāda-madhya-yamakas again) in my paper "The Paradise on Earth in Lēṅkā", shortly to appear in

¹⁶ [m] added by me. In present-day Balinese recital of "sanskrit", preference for nasalization in such cases is easily to be observed.

¹⁷ Name of the metre used. Throughout the OJR this practice is observed in forty-five out of 282 cases. Cp. n. 56.

¹⁸ Kern in his translation of the words *kēmban kēmās* (BKI.73, 1917, p. 494, reprinted in his Verspreide Geschriften X, 1922, p. 140), hesitated between "flowers and gold" and "golden flowers"; the Skr. "mālām . . . hiraṇmayīm" decides for the latter.

¹⁹ I do not understand well this situation.

²⁰ I do not feel happy with my endeavour to a translation; nor do I feel sure whether this last syllable in the OJ text is correct.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near and Middle East

BAUWERKE IN DER ALTSUMERISCHEN BILDKUNST. By E. HEINRICH.
(Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung, Heft 2.
Wiesbaden, 1957.)

This monograph, by an authority upon primitive architecture, draws attention to the frequency of buildings in the early art of Southern Iraq (before the middle of the third millennium B.C.). The pictures studied occur mostly upon cylinder-seals of this first age, but there are some other sources, and good use is made of the pictographs for comparison. Two different types of construction appear—the huts and cattle-pens of reed-construction, still a prominent feature in the villages, and another style of building, with flat roofs, wooden posts, and a framework between these. Whereas these latter occur in scenes clearly depicting cult-actions, the first seem connected solely with cattle-keeping, though with the addition of four peculiar religious symbols which mark the cattle as belonging to the gods. Again, while the reed-constructions are native to the resources of the alluvium, the wood-constructions point away to the surrounding hill districts, where this material was easily obtained and worked. From these differences the author deduces that two different ways of life appear in these pictures, one southern and rustic, the other northern and urban, and both go into the making of that civilization which may be called Sumerian. This would be another argument for those who have sought to infer from other evidence that the Sumerians were themselves early intruders upon a more primitive population, if any of it were strong enough to establish a sound historical conclusion for a period before record of any kind had begun. We are grateful to the author for many interesting details and acute perceptions, without being very clear what we ought to deduce from them.

C. J. GADD.

ISLAMIC SOCIETY AND THE WEST: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East. By H. A. R. GIBB and H. BOWEN. pp. 261. Oxford University Press, London, 1957. Price 35s.

This volume has long been eagerly awaited—some quotations from it appeared in 1939 in Arnold Toynbee's *Study of History* (iv, v)—and expectations are not disappointed. Apart from the opening chapter on taxation and the closing one on the Dimmīs, it is mainly concerned with the religious, legal, and educational institutions of the Ottoman

empire in the eighteenth century. In some cases there is also a valuable review of earlier developments. Most interesting is the question of the relations between the ruling institution, the *'ulemâ*, the dervish orders and the masses, and especially what is said about the reasons for the decline of the *'ulemâ* after they had wrested power from the ruling institution. Without being primarily an explanation of the decline of Islam in recent centuries, much of the book is in fact an account of the various factors contributing to that decline. Apart from that it is a useful compendium of the details of the Ottoman administration in the fields surveyed. The index of Arabic and Turkish technical terms is particularly valuable.

In general, this account of Islamic society in the eighteenth century, gives a valuable conspectus of the present state of our knowledge, though, as the authors observe in a note, access to the Ottoman archives is making possible a more detailed investigation of many aspects of the subject. It is to be hoped that the publication of the remainder of the work will not be long delayed.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

CONVEGNO DI SCIENZE MORALI STORICHE E FILOLOGICHE, 1956. pp. 500, and 12 figures. Tema: Oriente ed occidente nel medio evo. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1957. Price 5,000 lire.

This is the report of a congress held in Rome from 27th May to 1st June, 1956. Some forty scholars were present by invitation. There were six sessions in Rome and three in Florence. The sub-title was: "Problems of the history of civilization in the light of the discoveries and results of the researches of recent years into the history of the cultural contacts between the Near East and Europe." The subjects discussed (there being two or three papers on some of them) were: Christian mysticism and Islamic mysticism; Agnosticism and Manichæism in the medieval tradition; Feudalism and the political institutions of the Latin Orient; Byzantine law and Islamic law; Economic relations between East and West from the twelfth to the fifteenth century; Dante and Islam; The Hispano-Arabic lyric and the rise of the Romance lyric; Persia, Armenia, and Georgia in the history of medieval civilization. There were also some additional communications, and what was said in the discussions following the papers is fully reported.

The scheme is obviously an ambitious one. Despite the *Discorso Inaugurale* of G. Levi della Vida and the *Discorso di Chiusura* of Enrico Cerulli, which bring the various threads together, the papers and discussions tend to deal with points of detail. Though some of the papers are of great interest in themselves, the reader obtains no general idea of the relations of East and West except that his attention is drawn to numerous fields where there is interaction.

W. MONTGOMERY WATT.

THE TURKISH LANGUAGE OF SOVIET AZERBAIJAN. By C. G. SIMPSON. pp. 124. Central Asian Research Centre, 1957. 20s.

Azerbaijani is an infuriating language for the student of Osmanli and Republican Turkish. There are certain phonetic differences which are easily mastered, but apart from that at first sight it looks so similar that one assumes it can be read at sight with no more use of the dictionary than one would make in reading Republican Turkish. But that is not the position; the differences both of grammar and of vocabulary, though slight, are sufficiently great to make it not quite intelligible. Mr. Simpson's little handbook is therefore greatly to be welcomed. The subject is approached, very sensibly, from the point of view that no one is likely to read it unless he already knows Republican Turkish, which greatly simplifies the grammatical exposition. This is simple and clear and the side-lining of deviations from the Republican norm is a most useful device; but one or two of the terms used are unfamiliar. "Broad" and "narrow" for "back" and "front" vowels must surely be a Russianism unless it is just a translation of the Azerbaijani terms. Very few minor criticisms need be made. *Ağmtul* "whitish" (p. 15) is hardly a diminutive in the ordinary sense of the term and *uyğum* (p. 16) is pure Turkish, not Arabic. The grammatical introduction, though quite adequate occupies no more than one-third of the book; the rest is taken up with a wide selection of texts. Valuable as they are, this seems to me the only part of the book open to serious criticism. There is no vocabulary of unfamiliar words and the only dictionary in the bibliography is an Azerbaijani-Russian one published in Baku in 1951, unlikely to be obtainable in England and in any case useful only to those who know Russian. A little less text and quite a short vocabulary of unfamiliar words, compiled on the reasonable assumption that Russian loan-words can be found in a Russian dictionary and that the reader can make his own phonetic transpositions and recognize, e.g. *galzan* and *gədim* as *kalkan* and *kadim*, would very greatly have increased the value of this work.

GERARD CLAUSON.

ZUR Einteilung der Türkischen Mundarten Bulgariens. By J. NÉMETH. pp. 76, and 9 maps. Bulgarische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sofia, 1956.

Prof. Németh is almost the most junior of our Honorary Fellows, but he is the doyen of Hungarian Turcologists and anything which he writes deserves respect. This little book is an admirable essay in "microdialectology". As a result of a number of summer holidays spent in personal investigation Prof. Németh has proved that there are marked differences between the Turkish spoken in the north-west corner of Bulgaria and parts of the Balkan peninsula west and

south-west of that area and that spoken in the rest of Bulgaria and Turkey-in-Europe. The differences are minimal on paper though no doubt unmistakable when heard. For the most part they are departures from the normal Turkish vowel harmony. Starting from this there is a fascinating discussion of similar phonetic irregularities in earlier Turkish and modern Anatolian dialects. The conclusion, which is hard to resist, is that the ancestors of the speakers of the western dialect were the earliest wave of Ottoman Turkish immigrants into the Balkans and that they came from north-eastern Anatolia, the Trebizond area, in the early fifteenth century. If any criticism is called for it is perhaps that Prof. Németh has not considered sufficiently whether the aberrations should not be partly ascribed to the existence of foreign elements in the Turkish-speaking population or the influence of surrounding non-Turkish peoples. This is certainly the explanation of such irregularities in some other Turkish languages, for example the Özbek spoke in parts of Afghanistan. It should be added that, while Prof. Németh is almost certainly right in saying that the spellings in the "runic" inscriptions show that the suffix *-mıg* always contained a front vowel, even when attached to verbs with back vowels, the argument from spelling can be pressed too far. *Tıgla* in the Kül Tegin memorial is surely a simple misspelling of *tıgla*; there are many other similar misspellings.

GERARD CLAUSON.

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE MUSLIM PEOPLES. Compiled by Dr. R. ROOLVINK. pp. 48, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1957. Price, Dutch florins 27.50 (= approximately 52s.).

This attractive work, to which Sir Hamilton Gibb writes a short Foreword, is in English and contains forty pages of maps in colour, with numerous insets. Several well-known Muslim scholars, Drs. Saleh El Ali, Hussain Monés, and Mohd. Salim, have contributed to the production. The presentation is lively. By the use of diversified colours, insertion of the principal contours, and representation of the great campaigns and routes of advance by clearly-marked arrows the compiler succeeds in giving an almost pictorial account of the political history, the main traits of which, e.g. the original expansion of Islam and the Mongol invasions, can be seen from a rapid glance at the relevant maps. Geographical considerations are not neglected. In addition to contours, latitude and longitude are at least adumbrated on the maps and most of the insets and scales in miles are usually provided. Nor is economic history forgotten, and the record is brought down to the present time.

It is perhaps an advantage that the usual apparatus of conventional signs (points, long marks, etc.) to transliterate Arabic names has been dispensed with. Place-names are as a rule given as in English, but not

quite consistently, e.g. Lisboa (Pl. 5), nor always accurately, e.g. Tyrrhenean, Philippople (Pl. 22). Some important places have been omitted. There is nothing to illustrate the significant wars between the Arabs and the Khazars north of the Caucasus in the seventh and eighth centuries. Fraxinetum (Garde-Freinet) east of Marseilles, from which in the tenth century the Moors raided as far as Switzerland, is not registered. Talas (Ṭarāz), though marked on Pl. 10 for the tenth century, is not indicated as the scene of a decisive battle in 134/751 between the Arabs and the Chinese. More serious is the absence of an index of place-names.

The new work is described as if it were the first of its kind, in ignorance or disregard of the pioneering *Atlas of Islamic History*, published by Princeton University Press in 1951, with later editions.

D. M. DUNLOP.

ISMAILITISCHER KOMMENTAR. Ed. R. STROTHMANN. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen : Phil.-Hist. Klasse ; Dritte Folge Nr. 31.) pp. 376 + 41, facs. i. 1944-55.

The MS. here published contains the central third of the Koran, parts 11 to 20, chapters 9, 95 to 29, 43, and extends from the first section of the third division to the fifth section of the fourth division of the commentary. The author was Ismā'il b. Hibat Allāh al-Ismā'ili al-Sulaimānī, and he called it *mizāj al-tasnīm*. It does explain many words in the Koran, often by less obvious ones, but is an exposition of the system of the Ismā'ilīs. Thus the Jews, Sabians, Christians, Magians, and idolaters of K. 22, 17, are described as various kinds of imperfect Muslims opposed to the Ismā'ilīs. The book is valuable because it belongs to the Musta'li side of the sect, like the *Gnosis Texte*, also published by Professor Strothmann, whereas other texts belong to the Nizārī side. Unlike *rāḥat al-'aql* it is not philosophical, so the vocabulary is quite different. Names of persons and offices are often written in the secret script but there is no consistency. Emphasis is laid on the world cycles ; what happens in the present is pre-determined because it has already happened in an earlier cycle. References to God are applied to 'ain 'Alī, *mīm* Muḥammad, and the Controller who is probably the demiurge. Maryam is Yaḥyā (John the Baptist) and Simon Peter, while Fāṭima is at times Fāṭim, male. The five highest beings in the universe are the primal reason, the all-soul, the tenth (the reason moving the tenth sphere), the successor of the tenth and the guide of the past age, i.e. the last imam of the preceding cycle. The five indicate five light-persons, 'Abdullāh (father of Muḥammad), 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*shaibat al-ḥamd*, the laudable elder), Muḥammad, 'Imrān and 'Alī. Another five are Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain.

Hebrew and Arabic names are mixed; one list is Hunaid, Hud, Šālih, Abraham, Ismael, Udad, Udd, 'Adnān, Khuzaima, and Hāshim. Dhu l-Qarnain was a true imam for his age as being part of 'an. *Hijāb*, screen or veil, is a favourite term. For the Nizārīs it denotes a rank in the hierarchy but here it seems that anyone can be a veil for another or for himself; 'Abdullāh b. Rawāḥa was a veil of the prophet, and it was only his body which was killed at Mu'ta. Moses as a man is distinguished from Moses the veil and the commentary on the story of Joseph hesitates between ascribing it to the man or to his veil. The double nature of everything is emphasized; the missionary activity is double, internal, and external; perhaps such phrases as the preaching pertaining to Isaac, the forms (lit. shades, shadows) pertaining to him refer to the opposition between him and Ismā'il, the exoteric and the esoteric. In the comment on K. 19, 36, come these words about the imam: his humanity . . . to which his divinity is united"; this shows how far the sect has moved from true Islam. The editor's introduction with its indices provides most of the help needed by an outsider. There are a number of misprints; what looks like one comes often at the beginning of a quotation where *naṣṣuhu* (the wording of it) is expected though *faṣṣuhu* (his jewel, the golden words of the author) is possible.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE WISDOM OF BALAHVAR. By D. M. LANG. pp. 135, pl. 1. George Allen and Unwin, 1957. 15s.

Some saints have had unorthodox origins; a Muslim tale tells of two donkeys whose graves were transformed into tombs of saints but the change of Buddha into a Christian saint is surprising. Early in the seventeenth century the likeness of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat to that of Buddha was noted but the connection was not studied seriously till 100 years ago. Dr. Lang in his introduction suggests that the Buddha story was probably modified by the Manichees of Central Asia to whom it was certainly known. Three Arabic books, probably derived from some form of Persian, existed in or before the tenth century; one of these was translated into Georgian and this was rendered into Greek, in which form it became the basis of the Christian legend and was translated into many tongues including Arabic and Ethiopic. Georgian monasteries were situated in Palestine and Syria and in them translations from Arabic were made and the Georgian monastery on Mt. Athos was a link between Georgia and Greece. The book was so popular that John of Damascus was claimed as its author. The story of the wanderings of the tale is exciting and the translation—of a shortened form of the tale—is readable.

A. S. TRITTON.

POÈME DE LA MÉDECINE (AVICENNE). Ed. by H. JAHIER and A. NOUREDDINE. pp. 209, pl. 3. Paris, 1956.

Metrical summaries of knowledge were common among Muslims so that it is no surprise to find medicine in verse. This volume contains the Arabic text, the earliest Latin version and a modern translation in French. The text is based on several MSS.; two Indian editions have been collected, notes have been added from commentaries, and the *Qānūn* itself has been consulted. The introduction sets forth the ideas which lay behind the medicine of that age, and the history of the Latin versions is told at length with valuable details on the metamorphoses of Arabic words in Latin. The work is completed by notes on the text, on words, and on grammar, and there is an index. A reviewer, who knows medicine only as a patient, cannot criticize the accuracy of the translation though in places it looks wordy. The plate with the *ex libris* of Avicenna is welcome. A very satisfactory edition.

A. S. TRITTON.

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF RUMI. By AFZAL IQBAL. pp. 182, pl. 2. Bazm-I-Iqbal, Lahore.

The author does not realize that a book written entirely in superlatives is boring, not to use a stronger word, and leads to absurdities. 'Alā-dīn Khwarizmshah is called a traitor because of an alleged murder; there is no doubt about the murder but suspicion that the sultan was an accomplice is no ground for branding him as a traitor. "Rumi wrote the Koran in Pehlevi" (p. 45), an amazing statement, and it is only after many pages that one learns that it is an imaginative description of the *Mathnāwī* and that Pehlevi means Persian. The author tells of the misery of the serfs in Christian Spain but not of the sufferings of the Arabs in the east; he might have quoted:—

In theory they (the taxgatherers) ought to take one-tenth but, when the Arabs had sold all that they had, they could not collect what they demanded. They tried to persuade them to take according to the law of Muhammad, corn from him who had corn and cattle from him who had cattle, but they would not agree and said: "Away with you; sell as you will and pay cash."

There are a few misprints not in the list of *errata*, slips of the pen, and mistakes in English. The book begins with an account of the state of the world in Rumi's lifetime, an account marred by exaggerations. The author tries to do justice to Rumi as a poet but the prosaic translations fail to convey his enthusiasm. Rumi was not a philosopher but a religious genius; he did not argue but stated the facts of his own experience, illustrating them by parables and stories. He is convinced that man is a spiritual being, that the purpose of his life is to seek the highest and that the motive of all true life is love. He does not expect the perfected soul to be absorbed into God but in some way

God will be absorbed by the soul. Evil is necessary to life ; if God could not create evil, it would be a defect in Him ; without it man would have no power of choice and no chance to grow in spiritual stature. The perfect man has cosmic significance like the Shi'ite imam. Revelation is not a historical fact of the past but a living reality open to everyone ; it is nothing but the eternal spirit of man himself. Rumi believes that man is animated by two hostile principles, animality and divinity ; a division of human nature, says the author, discredited by modern psychology.

A. S. TRITTON.

KITĀB NAQD AL-ŠR' (QUDĀMA B. GA'FAR). Ed. by S. A. BONEBAKKER.
pp. 80 + 162 + 17. J. Brill, Leiden, 1956.

Before the time of Muḥammad, Arab poets sought the approval of their fellows and, after the coming of Islam, it was not long before some sought to codify the principles which justified such approval. One man classified the metres with such success that those which he ignored were condemned as not being poetry. In the sphere of words figures of speech attracted most attention though it is not surprising that a technical vocabulary was slow in growth ; indeed, it seems that some objected to the invention of new terms. Qudāma made use of his predecessors, often using the same examples as they did and handing them on to those who followed him. Ibn Qutaiba said that poetry must consist of sound ideas expressed in adequate language. Qudāma carried the analysis further ; for him there are four elements in poetry, word, meaning, metre, and rhyme, and of these there can be only four combinations, word and meaning, word and metre, meaning and metre, and meaning and rhyme. He said that poetic techniques, lexicography, and grammar had been treated exhaustively by earlier writers so that he would do what no one had done previously, write a book which would help the reader to distinguish good poetry from bad. His book is in three sections, a definition of poetry, examples of good poetry, and examples of bad. The examples are classified under the headings : words, harmony of words, rhyme, panegyric, elegy, and the figures of speech. Much appreciation of poetry consisted of vague generalities, often epigrammatic : " He called and poetry answered him." Qudāma often goes into detail. He quotes two lines of verse and comments : " This is the best sort of love poetry ; the poet says in the first verse that his passion is the strongest a lover can feel, sickness would be a lesser evil and a letter, the least which can be asked from the beloved, would heal him. The second verse tells of his devotion to the woman, that he is not content with his inborn virtues but must gain others to win her favour.

The editor has done his work thoroughly ; several manuscripts have been collated, several anthologies and the *diwāns* of many poets have

been examined to identify the quotations; there are three indices and a long introduction which tells of the life and works of Qudāma with a history of the study of rhetoric among the Arabs. The introduction is also summarized in Arabic. There is one place where the reading of the editor is questionable and the note to quotation 447 refers not to the poetess but to her father. A well-known verse of the Koran brands poets as liars and the editor asks why it is ignored in the discussion of exaggeration in poetry. His conclusion is that Qudāma and others were so intent on adapting the theories of Aristotle and his followers that it did not occur to them to quote the Koran. There are several references to Greeks and a passage on the various kinds of antithesis (p. 124) is so close to the version of Aristotle's *Categories* made by Ishāq b. Hunain, though not identical, that Qudāma must have known at least part of this book. At times the editor seems to forget that figures of speech existed in Arabic before any theories about them. It is a pleasure to welcome a careful piece of work sent out in a handsome form.

A. S. TRITTON.

DIPLOMACY IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST (A documentary record).

By J. C. HUREWITZ. Vol. I (1535-1914), xviii, 291 pp. Vol. II (1914-1956), xviii, 427 pp. Macmillan Co., Ltd., London, 1956. £4 4s.

Professor Hurewitz, in making his choice of documents, has concentrated on a number of major diplomatic themes. The first volume is devoted primarily to the system of capitulations, the efforts to stabilize the Ottoman-Persian frontier after 1639, the growth of European and, above all, of English influence in the Persian Gulf, and the problems arising from the gradual decline of the Ottoman empire (the Straits, Egypt, the Suez Canal, Cyprus, and the Sudan). The second volume deals with the main issues of the past four decades—e.g. the emergence of the Turkish Republic and of independent Arab states, the question of Palestine, and the ensuing Arab-Israeli conflict, the complex politics connected with oil, and the marked diminution of French and English control in the Middle East during and since the war of 1939-1945. Among the material selected by Professor Hurewitz will be found edicts, political programmes, proclamations, and parliamentary debates in addition to treaties and diplomatic correspondence. Each document has a short introduction emphasizing its significance and including references to related original material and to relevant books, monographs, and articles in the main languages of Western Europe. As Professor Hurewitz observes, we have as yet "no inclusive diplomatic history" of the Near and Middle East. His own work here under review, although "experimental" and "not . . . an exhaustive collection", constitutes none the less a first and most welcome attempt to fill this lacuna. Scholars and students interested in the long process

which has brought about the present constellation of forces in the region will find in these two volumes a rich and valuable aid to the furtherance of their studies.

V. J. PARRY.

SYRIA AND LEBANON (NATIONS OF THE MODERN WORLD). By N. A. ZIADEH. 312 pp., 5 maps. London: E. Benn, Ltd., 1957. 30s.

The first six chapters of this book contain an account of the land and people (pp. 13-26), a brief historical sketch extending from the earliest times to the end of the Mandate (pp. 27-92), and a much more detailed review of the years following the attainment of full independence (pp. 93-172). A short appendix (pp. 293-8) summarizes the main events of June-November, 1956. The last five chapters deal with the form of government (constitutional, electoral laws, administration, justice, status of the Christian communities), political parties (their growth, programmes, and electoral successes), economic life (irrigation, agriculture, mineral resources, industries, commerce, and finance), social structure (the size, increase, and composition of the population, pressure on the means of subsistence, education, intellectual life, social services), and with their problems and prospects for the future (the Arab League, Israel, the Baghdad Pact, confessionalism in the Lebanon, the spirit of tribalism, and the educational needs of the people). There are five maps on irrigation and power projects, cultivation, rainfall, communications, and oil pipelines, together with a list of recent books in French and English. Professor Ziadeh's book is a judicious, informative, and most useful guide to the complex and often confusing history of Syria and the Lebanon in our time.

V. J. PARRY.

THE ANTIQUITY OF IRAQ (A Handbook of Assyriology). By SVEND AAGE PALLIS. pp. xvi + 814, with 2 maps and 2 chronological tables. Copenhagen (Munksgaard), 1956. £6 6s.

With this comprehensive work the veteran Danish Assyriologist, well known for his monographs on Babylonian religion and chronology, has accomplished a task that might well have been thought beyond the powers of a single individual. The book is a complete handbook of Assyriology. It is divided into fourteen chapters, dealing with (I) the landscape, Babylonia and Assyria, (II) early exploration, (III) decipherment of the cuneiform writing, (IV) the cuneiform script, (V) the languages (Akkadian, Sumerian), (VI) the excavations, 1842-1954, (VII) the prehistory of Iraq, (VIII) chronology, (IX) from Sumerian city government to Babylonian Empire, (X) Hammurabi and his age, (XI) the Assyrians, (XII) the town and daily life, (XIII) sacrifices and festivals, (XIV) art, literature, and sciences.

Hitherto English readers have been dependent on the excellent

German work *Babylonien und Assyrien* by Bruno Meissner (Heidelberg, 1920-5). But this book is by no means an English edition of Meissner's work. Not only have recent discoveries and developments in scholarship been incorporated, but the author presents his material with much originality and shows good judgment in matters still controversial, such as chronology. In the historical field, it was an original and happy idea (ch. II) to present in a single narrative the downfall and destruction of the early empires, their long oblivion, and their eventual rediscovery. Chapters III-V deal with ground already covered, but even here Professor Pallis has adduced new facts hitherto overlooked. In chapter VI there is a most useful list of excavations carried out in Iraq up to 1954, arranged in chronological order but with an alphabetical index. Chapter XIII, on religion, is particularly noteworthy for an unusual simplicity, achieved by disregarding the lists of deities as being no more than compilations and concentrating on the actual religious conceptions prevailing at different periods and places. Thus Marduk-Bêl is given pride of place as the central figure for most of the historical period, corresponding to the centralization of power at Babylon, the vast Sumerian "pantheon" being broken up into local cults and thereby rendered credible. In the last chapter the summary of scholastic texts with bibliography provides a useful table of reference for the specialist.

Specialists will sometimes wish for fuller references to sources than the author provides.

The English translation is excellent and misprints are remarkably few: Cicilia occurs twice for Cilicia (pp. 404 and 442).

O. R. GURNEY.

OPERA MINORA. By VON PAUL KAHLE. Festgabe Sum 21, Januar, 1956. pp. xviii + 372 + pls. 6. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1956.

Professor P. E. Kahle is well known as one of the greatest Hebraists of this century. His great works *Massoreten des Westen*, *Massoreten des Osten*, his preparation of the text of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, and his *Cairo Genizah* (Schweich Lectures, 1941), are lode stars in the firmament of Hebrew scholarship. What has not perhaps been adequately recognized by Hebraists and Old Testament scholars in particular is the breath and width of his scholarly researches in Semitic and Oriental fields outside Biblical scholarship. *Opera Minora* should correct this myopia. Professors Black, Fück, Castro, and Spies are to be congratulated for having led to the production of this book. The Bibliography of Professor Kahle's writings, pp. xi-xviii, is most valuable for the research worker in many diverse fields, particularly in those of Biblical and Muslim Studies. Out of 100 items listed one-third deal with Arabic. These latter range from "Zur Organisation der Derwisch-Orden in Ägypten", p. xii; "Ein Futuwwa-Erlass des Kalifen an-Nāṣir aus dem Jahre 609/1209," p. xv; "Das Arabische

Schattentheater in Mittelalterlichen Ägypten: Alte Texter, Alte Figuren," p. xvii, to "The Kor'an and the Arabiya", and "The Arabic Readers of the Kor'an", p. xvi.

Opera Minora contains fourteen monographs and articles on Hebraica and nine on Islamica, a fair selection from Professor Kahle's major fields of research. Of the fourteen articles under Hebraica seven deal with the Hebrew Bible text, three with Samaritan studies, three with Dead Sea MSS., one with the Palestinian Aramaic of the time of Jesus, and one with the aphorisms of Maimonides. Why this last was included under Hebraica is hard to understand, as the aphorisms are in Arabic. Maimonides, court physician of Saladin, was indeed one of the greatest of Medieval Jewry's many scholars, but the work with which Professor Kahle deals is in Arabic.

Perhaps the articles under the section Islamica are less representative than those under Hebraica. While one is glad to have Professor Kahle's valuable article and supplement thereto on Chinese porcelain in the lands of Islam as well as a lost map of Columbus and Nautische Instrumente der Araber in Indischer Ocean, one wonders why room was not found for such central topics as his articles on "The Kor'an and the Arabiya" and "The Arabic Readers of the Kor'an". However, these last are more recent than some of those reprinted and it may be felt that they are still obtainable.

The Bibliography of Professor Kahle's writings takes us only up to 1954, though scholarly output continues undiminished. The volume has a useful index and six plates, the most interesting being Piri Re'is Map of the World.

JOHN BOWMAN.

Far East

THE RULERS OF CHINA 221 B.C.—A.D. 1949. Chronological tables compiled by A. C. MOULE, with an introductory section on the earlier rulers c. 2100–249 B.C. by W. PERCEVAL YETTS. pp. xxii + 129. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1957. 63s.

There are already a number of good reference works available for Chinese chronology and one is at first inclined to wonder whether the great expenditure of effort over a number of years that has gone into the production of *The Rulers of China* was really justified in terms of utility. Even leaving out of account works in Chinese, it does not in any way replace P. Hoang, *Concordance des chronologies neoméniques chinoises et européennes*, for those who wish to translate dates from one chronology to another. What it does provide in a convenient, well-indexed, accurate, and reliable form is information about the dates, names, title, reigns, year-periods, etc., of the emperors of all the major Chinese dynasties, as well as the generally recognized minor and partial dynasties. It will probably be especially useful to art collectors and

others who need to know about such matters but find it difficult to make use of works in Chinese. Even those with Chinese will be thankful on occasion to be able to find quickly such things as the date on which an emperor was born or the exact day on which a year period was inaugurated (though he would probably generally prefer to have such dates in Chinese chronology rather than Western). Very great pains have been taken by Moule and his collaborators, the late Professor Yetts and Dr. H. C. Chang, to make the work as accurate as possible, and copious notes are provided on difficult or doubtful points. The book is attractively produced from the calligraphy of Moule and Dr. Chang.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

FAILURE IN THE FAR EAST. By MALCOLM HAY. pp. ix + 202. Neville Spearman, Ltd., London, 1957. 18s.

The failure referred to in the title is the failure of Catholic missionary enterprise in China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which is attributed to the machinations of the Jansenists, particularly of the Scotsman, William Leslie, against the Jesuits. Most of the book has, indeed, nothing to do with China but deals with alleged intrigues in Scotland and Rome. Historical situations are measured with a simple, partisan yardstick and whatever value the book may have for ecclesiastical history (which others must judge), it adds little to previous accounts of the Rites Controversy.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

QUINSAL, WITH OTHER NOTES ON MARCO POLO. By A. C. MOULE. pp. xii + 92, 8 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1957. 30s.

One of the major sinological enterprises of recent times was the edition of Marco Polo by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, supported financially by Sir Percival David. Before the war the first two volumes consisting of the translation and the Zelada Latin text were magnificently produced. The third volume, consisting of notes to the translation, which would have been the book's most substantial contribution to scholarship, was already partly set up in type but unfortunately the difficulties of the war, the death of Pelliot in 1946, and the increased costs of publishing have led, it would appear, to its abandonment, along with the projected fourth volume of maps and illustrations. Pelliot's notes may ultimately be published wholly or in part in some form: meanwhile these notes of Moule are fortunately now available.

Hang-chou, his native city, was always one of Moule's major scholarly preoccupations. He has drawn on his own knowledge of the locality, as well as on Chinese descriptions of Sung date and later, to fill out Marco Polo's description of "the greatest city which may be found in the world". City life in China had reached a high state of development in the Sung and Yüan periods and this aspect of social history is

attracting increasing attention. It is to be hoped that the Chinese works describing it, such as the *Meng-liang lu* from which Moule quotes illustrative excerpts, may some day be available in fuller measure to Western readers.

Besides the notes on Quinsai, five shorter notes on passages in Marco Polo are included, two on birds and animals, one on the Linen of Rens, one on the siege of Hsiang-yang, and one on the murder of Acmat Bailo, the last three being revised versions of previously published articles.

E. G. PULLEYBLANK.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS. By J. C. STREET. pp. 89. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1957.

Great industry, and a vast amount of ratiocination (much of it in my view misapplied) have gone into the making of this book, and it is always disagreeable and even unfair to blame a young scholar for faults acquired from his teachers; but the plain fact is that few European scholars will have the courage and endurance to finish a book written in an order so chaotic and a jargon so repellent. Dr. Scott's claim is that "previous works on Mongolian grammar have usually started out with certain unstated assumptions based on the analysis of Latin and Greek but of no necessary validity for other languages", and that this is the first application of "descriptive methods" to a Mongolian language. No one will deny the undesirability of the eighteenth century practice of trying to force other languages into the strait-jacket of Latin grammar or the unfortunate consequences, for example, for English grammar, which flowed therefrom; but that practice was abandoned decades ago and modern European grammars of oriental languages can be called "descriptive" in every sense of the word, even though they still preserve the traditional vocabulary of grammatical terms so far as circumstances permit. The new American "do it yourself" technique advocated by Dr. Scott seems to consist mainly in substituting for large parts of that vocabulary a new one based on the wholesale massacre of Latin and Greek etymology, including both ungrammatical neologisms like "lexeme" and "tagmeme" and Graeco-Latin hybrids like "vocoid", which, believe it or not, means "semi-vowel". This is not just a splenetic outburst by a crusty Tory; the future of international scholarship is at stake. A young English-speaking or English-reading scholar wishing to learn Classical Mongolian will probably start with *An Introduction to Classical (Literary) Mongolian*, written by a Dane (the late Prof. Grønbech), and an American (John Krueger), and proceed from there to the *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, written by a Russian domiciled in America (Prof. Poppe). The international grammatical terminology

used by these distinguished scholars is not absolutely identical, but the differences are minimal, and it can readily be understood by any educated person. It is not fair to the young scholar who has got so far and wishes to broaden his knowledge of Mongolian to expect him to learn a completely new grammatical terminology, which often calls exactly the same grammatical form or concept by a completely different name, also derived from Greek or Latin, but by an illegitimate process, and to present him with the subject in a completely different, and to my mind, illogical order.

GERARD CLAUSON.

South-East Asia

PREHISTORY AND RELIGION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By Dr. H. G. QUARITCH WALES. 180 pp. and 34 illustrations. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., London, 1957. £2.

This book seeks to prove from archaeology and surviving beliefs that Khmer religion developed from the older Megalithic and Cham religion from the Dongsonian, and that Indo-Javanese religious evolution was affected by both these elements. For the cult of the Older Megalithic its author turns to the isolated aborigines of S.E. Australia whose sky-god can be visited by a shaman. Next, going as far afield as Jericho, Delphi (with its *δμφαλός*) and Babylon, he finds (like Heine-Geldern) a chthonic aspect in the mountain cult of the older Megalithic, whose structures were designed to provide contact with Mother Earth and dead ancestors. Then came the cult of Dongsonian bronzeworkers with a form of shamanism which unlike that of India did not involve spirit possession. With great plausibility Dr. Quaritch Wales takes the feathered figures on the bronze drums to be neither the warriors of Heine-Geldern nor the birdmen of Kalgren but shamans disguised as birds for their role as "space navigators" escorting the dead to heaven; and in the boats on the drums he sees their space vehicles with the Cosmic Tree looking at first glance like a mast—though there were no sails then and so no masts. In the deer-arch (or rainbow ending in two snakes) of fourteenth-century Java and the cosmic tree (*gunongan*) of the shadow-play Dr. Quaritch Wales discerns a revival of Dongson motifs. The *Kala* head of the *gunongan* and Javanese sculpture, so often reduced to a single eye, appears to him to be not the Horus of Elliot Smith and Perry but the sun as a symbol of the supreme Dongsonian sky-god.

The arguments are supported by detailed evidence, carefully chosen to be as free as possible from Hindu and Islamic accretions. But to sift prehistoric ore clean over so long a period and so wide an area is a staggering task. The author thinks, for example, that the sky-god

of the Australian aborigines is identical with the sky-god of Malaya's aborigines. He may probably be right but the large Mon-Annam element in the dialects of Negrito, Sakai, and Jakun suggest close contact with Dong-son culture and Dr. Quaritch Wales himself recognizes this and ascribes their tree-burial of shamans to that culture. Yet two discrepant myths as to the origin of tree-burial (given in my *Malay Magician*) suggest more than one source for the practice.

On p. 135 *batu kēbēsaran* means not "a stone of glory" but "a stone signifying rank" or "importance"; *kēbēsaran* commonly denoting "insignia".

R. O. WINSTEDT.

THE STONE AGE OF INDONESIA. By H. R. VAN HEERKEN. pp. 141, 24 figs., and 47 plates. Martinus Nijhoff, 1957.

Three events occurring in November, 1957, might be held to augur well for a revival of active field work in South-East Asian prehistory, should conditions allow of it: these were the holding of the Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Bangkok, the appearance in *Man* of an account of preliminary digging at the Niah cave in Sarawak, and the publication of the important work under review. Undoubtedly it will long remain the essential work of reference for the stone age cultures of Indonesia, and afford a sound basis on which to build. That there is vast scope for such further research is indicated by the evidence being too often limited to surface finds. The book covers in detail every period from the remote Pleistocene skulls and related objects, associated especially with the investigators Dubois, Weidenreich, and von Koenigswald, down to the various facies of the Neolithic. Each chapter has an adequate bibliography, and there is a wealth of maps, sections, and other line illustrations, as well as forty-seven excellent plates. In view of its exhaustive scale, and as being absolutely up-to-date, this work must largely supersede the well-known summary by R. Heine-Geldern which for more than a decade has been instrumental in spreading a basic knowledge of the subject. The author has for long been the leading field worker in Indonesia, and has himself carried out excavations at sites of most periods. But where theory is concerned he does not go much beyond Heine-Geldern. One noteworthy point, however, he makes (p. 131), which may be mentioned here: while Heine-Geldern's older wave of megalithic culture has not as yet (as critics do not tire of pointing out) been associated archaeologically with the Neolithic, the required evidence is available for the megaliths of Eastern Polynesia. For the rest one can only emphasize that here is a compendium that must be in the hands of all serious students of the region; and the companion volume that the author promises on the Bronze-Iron Age of Indonesia will be eagerly awaited.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

India, Pakistan and Ceylon

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF BENGAL. By N. K. SINHA. Vol. I.
9 in. \times 5½ in. pp. 260. Calcutta, 1956.

One of the great desiderata in Indian history has long been a full and authoritative examination of the social and economic history of Bengal from the British conquest in 1757 to the permanent settlement of the land revenues in 1793. Professor Sinha in his able presentation of the Indian point of view finds no difficulty in unearthing material discreditable to the conduct of the servants of the East India Company. How they were prone to enrich themselves by legitimate and corrupt methods before the payment of adequate salaries placed them above temptation is one of the commonplaces of Indian history. Of this the author is fully aware and pays a well-deserved tribute to the reforming zeal of Lord Cornwallis. The book is packed with detailed and accurate information on many topics such as the Investment policy of the English Company, *dadni* contracts, and the abuse of the *dastak* system. There are valuable chapters on French and Dutch commerce in Bengal after 1757. Fresh light is thrown on the private trading of the Company's servants and how men like Clive and Rumbold transmitted their fortunes to Europe. Perhaps the most important topics discussed are in the chapters on the Indian market, currency and indigenous banking, and the Armenian traders in Bengal.

There is, however, an unfortunate tendency to blame the British for all the ills from which Bengal suffered during this period. Professor Sinha holds no uncertain views about the drain of wealth from Bengal in the second half of the eighteenth century. On this controversial topic the student would be well advised to consult Dr. Holden Furber's *John Company at Work* (Harvard University Press, 1948) and Dr. A. Tripathi's *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833* (Orient Longmans, 1956).

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

DACCA. By A. H. DANI. 9 in. \times 5½ in. pp. viii + 180, plates xi, maps 3.
Dacca, 1956. Price Rs. 6.

This is a guide-book to modern Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan. It contains a useful summary of its history from its rise to importance as a Mughal provincial capital in the first decade of the seventeenth century to its decline after the seat of government was transferred to Murshidabad in 1717. Its subsequent history under British rule is traced in some detail. There are far too many misprints. The photographs are badly reproduced. Students interested in this area should also consult *The Romance of an Eastern Capital*, by F. B. Bradley-Birt (London, 1906).

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE LEGACY OF THE LOKAMANYA. By T. L. SHAY. 8½ in. by 5½ in. pp. xx + 215. Oxford University Press, 1956. Price 14s.

No definitive account of Bal Gangadhar Tilak's career, especially that part of it connected with the Indian anarchist movement, is possible until the bureaucratic ban preventing access to records in this country is lifted. For this reason Mr. Shay's book contains little not already known about the rise of the Indian nationalist movement. Moreover, the many-sided activities of the "father of Indian unrest" are well known to students in India and in this country. This book is therefore probably intended for American readers. The fact that Tilak was opposed to any imitation of the European model gives the author an excuse for a brief introductory account of Hindu political philosophy. He appears not to be acquainted with the controversies relating to the date and authorship of the *Arthashastra*. Neither is his portrayal of the historical background free from inaccuracies. The French did not reach India before the British (p. 35); they were late arrivals.

Mr. Shay has been in close contact with the surviving members of the Tilak family. So, instead of a detached study he has presented the Indian point of view. Two other biographies of Tilak by Indian admirers were published in 1956 to mark the centenary of his birth. Of these three books that of Mr. D. V. Tahmankar (Murray, London) displays the greatest insight into the period. Except where the author gloats over the cowardly assassinations of Rand and Ayerst, his is a useful account. When one remembers Tilak's influence on the anarchist movement, both in Maharashtra and in Bengal, it is difficult to accept the portrait painted by these three writers of Tilak wearing the white flower of a blameless life.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN LITERATURE. A Symposium. Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Foreword by S. RADHAKRISHNAN. pp. 300. Ministry of Information, Delhi 8.

This symposium consists of articles by various writers, giving brief outlines of the literatures of thirteen of the modern languages of India, of modern Sanskrit, and of works written in English by Indian authors. The survey of the contemporary literature of each region includes, in most of the articles, some preliminary notes on the language and the early history and main periods of the literature. The limitation of space in such a survey within a single book necessarily means that only general trends can be indicated; and the articles vary not only in length and arrangement, but also in the adequacy of their treatment of certain of the literatures. In spite of these limitations, this symposium is valuable as a short survey of general trends in the various literatures of modern India from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present day.

H. M. LAMBERT.

KRISTI PURĀṆA. By FATHER THOMAS STEPHENS. Edited and transcribed in the Devanagari script by ŚRĪ ŚĀNTĀRĀM BANḌELU. Editor's introduction, Life of Father Stephens, author's own introduction to his work, etc. pp. 1-96; Pailē Purāṇa and Dusarē Purāṇa, pp. 1-939; supplements and glossary. Facsimile of manuscript page. Prasād Prakāśan, Poona 2, 1956. Rs. 10.

During the last decade a new interest has been aroused in Maharashtra in the early seventeenth century poetic work of Father Thomas Stephens, of the Jesuit community established in Goa during the sixteenth century. The work is a presentation, in contemporary Marathi narrative verse form of religious and devotional literature, of the events of the Old and the New Testaments. This interest will ensure a warm reception of the new edition of this work, transcribed in the Devanagari script, prepared by Śrī Śāntārām Banḍelu. The original work was completed in 1614 and printed in a roman transcription based on a Portuguese system of transliteration. Manuscript copies in roman transcription of a relatively early date were used by Joseph Sāldhana in the preparation of his edition of the Kristi Purāṇa in 1907, until now the only available printed version of the work. The only known copy in the Devanagari script is a manuscript, estimated as belonging to the eighteenth century, in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

This new edition, therefore, is of great importance not only because it makes the Kristi Purāṇa available for the first time to the general Marathi reading public and to all familiar with the Devanagari script, but also because it includes a full discussion of the history of the work, with documents relating to its publication, a glossary of archaic words and forms, and other materials useful for the evaluation and appreciation of a great poetical work which, by its literary form and style as well as by its content, places its author beside the great Marathi writers of his time and, in the author's own introduction to his poem, provides a unique example of Marathi prose of the same period.

H. M. LAMBERT.

ASSENTOS DO CONSELHO DO ESTADO. Vol. IV (1659-1695). DOCUMENTOS COORDENADOS E ANOTADOS. By PANDURONGA S. S. PISSURLENCAR. xxiii + 608 pp. Imprensa Nacional, Goa, 1956.

The editor is to be congratulated on the regularity with which this series appears. This volume reflects the steady decline of the Portuguese power in Asia despite the relief afforded by the conclusion of peace with the Dutch in 1663. The Arabs of Oman appear as Portugal's most dangerous enemy, but the rise of the Marāthās also caused them increasing anxiety, which is reflected in many documents in this volume. Disputes with the English at Bombay were also a constant irritant, and the Portuguese version presented here may be compared with the

English viewpoint reflected in the latest volumes of the *English Factories in India* series. Another source of Anglo-Portuguese friction was the loss of the great ship *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda* in 1673 (pp. 390-2, 404-5), which was believed to have been sunk with all hands by English pirates when homeward-bound in the Indian Ocean. The allegation was probably unfounded, although English pirates were certainly active in those years; but it led to the seizure by the Portuguese of several Englishmen at Mozambique in 1682 and had a most unfortunate, if temporary, effect on Anglo-Portuguese relations in Europe, as can be seen from the papers dealing with this shady affair in the Public Record Office. There are interesting discussions as to how far Hindu marriage rites should be tolerated at Goa, and whether Hindu orphans should be forcibly baptized (pp. 280-291, 299-303, 378-382). One may note that Timor and Solor were first included among the Portuguese possessions in Asia in 1681 (p. 351), although those islands had been frequented by the Portuguese on account of the sandalwood-trade for over 150 years.

C. R. BOXER.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF JÑANADEVA. By B. P. BAHIRAT. pp. x, 220, 20. Pandharpur Research Society, 1956.

Jñānaveḍa, the philosopher poet died prematurely at the age of 22 in 1297. He produced among other works, two important poems, the Bhavārtha-dīpikā usually known as the Jñāneśvarī and the Amṛtānubhava. The Jñāneśvarī is an interpretation of the Bhagavadgītā of the bhakti school which is famous throughout the Marathi-speaking world for its influence upon religious thought.

The philosophy behind the Jñāneśvarī is expounded by the less-known Amṛtānubhava, upon which Mr. Bahirat has based his book, the last third of which contains a very creditable translation. Preceding it is a sketch of the times of Jñānadeva, his life and works, his metaphysics, cosmology, the nature of Jīva, his conception of Bhakti, the influences on his philosophy, and the different interpretations of it. A comparison is made with certain Western philosophies and there is an attempt to assess his position in Indian philosophy.

There are many interpretations of the philosophy of Jñānadeva, but few are agreed and several contradictory. The author considers none of them to be satisfactory.

Dr. Pendse identifies his metaphysics with that of Śaṅkara, misled by the phrase Śaṅkari-vidyā, which refers to Śiva, not to the philosopher Śaṅkara. Jñānadeva, in fact, denies Śaṅkara's view that Āvidyā or Ignorance possesses objective reality. Dr. Dasgupta points out that Jñānadeva calls the world Cidvitasā, the play of the Spirit, or sport of the Absolute, and restricts its unreality to the sense that it has no meaning apart from the Absolute, while it is real as a manifestation of

the Absolute. Jñānadeva sometimes uses the conception of Māyā, as equivalent to Cidvitasā, meaning not illusion, but a true expression of reality.

Professor Dandekar regards Jñānadeva as a monist and closer to Śāṅkara than Rāmāṇiya and Vallabha. But his monism is different from Śāṅkara's. Professor Ranade rightly considers Sphūrtivāda as Jñānadeva's original contribution to philosophical thought. According to this doctrine, the world emanates from God, the Absolute, as a scintillation from a jewel and is as real as light. Ranade adds that Jñānadeva accepted Māyāvāda, but when Jñānadeva uses māyā in the sense of "illusion", he holds it to be an effect of ignorance, a negative state which has not even empirical reality (the vyavahārika satta of Śāṅkara).

The author's view of Jñānadeva's philosophy is that it is a dynamic system. The dynamic nature "is further accentuated by his adoption of a healthy, positive, and realistic method of working towards the objects in the world. For him the world is not a mirage . . . God takes delight in manifesting and realizing himself through the infinite variety of forms of existence". His spiritual lineage is traced to the Nātha cult of Gorakhanātha and has affinities with Kashmiri Shaivism. So we find that although he is no Vaishnavite, Jñānadeva has been influenced in part by Vaiṣṇava doctrine. But his Absolute or Supreme God is Śiva or Śāṅkara. His Bhakti does not involve the quietism of the Vaishnavites, but fructifies by means of Bhakhi-yoga, the practical devotion in which the devotee is a servant rather than a lover. His Śānta-rasa is the peace of mind brought by duty performed (upāsana). To Jñānadeva bhakti, śakti, and vidyā are synonymous or rather the three elements of a mystic trinity. He rejects the stark doctrine of power as an end in itself as well as the spinelessness of total nonender to spiritual love, and combines the virtues of both in a practical synthesis which recognizes the world and makes use of it for spiritual advancement. His practical outlook is illustrated by his criticism of the Jaiṇas, for eating uncooked food from fear of injuring a jīva. For in doing so, they injure their own lives, jīvas in a higher scale of creation.

Credit is due to the author for the publication of this useful book. His English is generally good, but he allows himself to write "negligence" for "neglect" and it is difficult to suppose that the persistent spelling of "tounge" for "tongue" is a mere printer's error.

ALFRED MASTER.

ÉTUDES VÉDIQUES ET PĀNINEENNES. Par LOUIS RENOU. Tome I, pp. 130, Tome II, p. 162. Paris, 1955-56. [*Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne*: Fasc. i and ii.]

These two volumes contain a miscellaneous collection of L. Renou's studies on Vedic and Pāṇinean topics, and of the two divisions mentioned in the title the former occupies the greater amount of space.

The nature of a good deal of the Vedic section is indicated by the author in a note at the beginning of the first part. It starts from an examination and classification of the material contained in the notes to Geldner's translation of the R̥gveda, with which are combined the independent observations of Professor Renou himself. Consequently in order fully to understand the points discussed, it is necessary to read the present work in conjunction with Geldner's translation. Needless to say the results of the combined investigations of two such authorities make the book well worth perusal. Subjects discussed include the powers of the Word in the R̥gveda, sections on the problem of ellipse and hypercharacterization on the R̥gveda, a detailed study of the composition of the tenth Maṇḍala, and (longest of all) individual studies on certain speculative hymns, mainly in the *Atharvaveda*. An examination of the prose sections of the *Atharvaveda* stresses the importance of distinguishing them chronologically from the earlier mantra stratum; words or forms occurring only in such sections are to be attributed to the Brāhmaṇa period, a distinction which is not made clear in the way the *Atharvaveda* is cited in our ordinary works of reference.

It is useful to have attention drawn to Geldner's interpretation of *vipanyā-*, etc. (on *RV.* 5, 61, 15: connected with *vip-rá-*, etc.), since the traditional analysis (*vi* + *pan-*) is wrong. Renou's remarks (II, 107 ff.) on *tr̥ṣṭá-* "harsh, rough" should convince people that this work should be decidedly separated from the root *tr̥ṣ-* "to be thirsty". Admittedly its further connections remain obscure, but in view of the use of the words in connection with *vāc-* (*RV.* 10, 87, 15) a possible connection with *tarjayati* "speaks harshly to, threatens", and of both with O Slav. *tr̥zati* Russ. *terzát* "treat in pieces, torment" might be thought of. On other points Renou argues convincingly that *suṛykti-* is to be derived from *su* + *√vyj-* and that the problematical *dhénā* is to be connected with Av. *daēnā*. On some points his views might be questioned. Few people will be inclined to see in *sāman-*, *sātu-* an enlargement with *ā* of the root *as-* "to be". His interpretation of *śūśá-*, connecting it with *√śvas-/*śuṣ-* is supported by an interpretation of Vedic *āśuṣāna-* which is itself highly questionable. The simplest explanation is to take it as an adjective with suffix *-śá* from *śū-* to be strong meaning "strengthening, what strengthens".

T. BURROW.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SHAIKH FARĪD-U'D-DĪN GANJ-I-SHAKAR. By KHĀLIQ AḤMAD NIẒĀMĪ. pp. x, 144. Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1955.

The winning of independence by India and Pakistan has seen their scholars turn away from the politics that most interested the nineteenth and twentieth centuries towards what most interested medieval

India, namely religion. As in the field of Indian Islamic studies there is nothing remotely rivalling the achievements of Goldziher, Caetani, Margoliouth, Nicholson, Massignon, Gibb, and Arberry in the general sphere of Islamic civilization, the efforts being made in both India and Pakistan to investigate the social and intellectual history of medieval Muslim India should be watched with interest. In this work the Muslim University of Aligarh is leading the way and it is pleasant to welcome Dr. Khāliq Ahmad Nizāmī's biography of one whom Professor Gibb describes in the foreword as a "seminal personality in the development of the Islamic mystical movement in India".

Dr. Nizāmī is fully aware of the difficulties awaiting the biographer of a medieval saint when hagiologists are more concerned to edify by retailing pious legends than to write historical biography. His own biography, however, does not entirely escape being a medieval hagiology itself, and although there is a useful appendix (B) on apocryphal Malfūz literature attributed to Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn, one feels that the credentials of the Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād, the Khair u'l Majālis, and the Siyar u'l Auliya, on which Dr. Nizāmī relies heavily, need similar critical analysis, which they have not, in fact, received.

As Dr. Nizāmī points out, authentic information on the shaiḫ's teachings is meagre and those of his sayings quoted by Amīr Khawrd in the Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād scarcely amount to a distinctive doctrine. Perhaps they would acquire more significance in the wider setting of medieval Muslim mysticism. It would be interesting to see how far Professor Muhammad Habib's dictum (*Medieval India Quarterly*, i, 2, 1950, p. 2) that "India has added nothing to (Muslim) mystic thought" and that "her contributions have been primarily to the field of mystic practice" can be related in detail to Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn's life and work.

It is now accepted doctrine that, in Dr. Nizāmī's words, the Sufi "Khanqahs became veritable centres of cultural synthesis" between Hindu and Muslim. May one hope that the supporting evidence from the Muslim mystic literature may soon be more fully displayed? Dr. Nizāmī would perhaps agree that, within the context of the biography of a single saint, this need is unlikely to be satisfied.

P. HARDY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY. By D. D. KOSAMBI. lix, 384 pp., 30 plates, 48 text-figures. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1956. Rs. 18-12-0.

Professor Kosambi's book is inspired by science and empiricism, not by dogma and prophecy. It is a collection of essays and empirical inquiries spaced out at roughly equal intervals over the millenia, not a systematic introduction to Indian history ("Study" is the operative word in the title). Kosambi certainly has not gone far enough

in his chapter on "Scope and Methods", and some students may find his partial criticism of Marx confusing because not sufficiently elaborated. We must note Kosambi's statement that his studies "have been intensive rather than extensive". Immense labour on the details of Indian history must precede generalizations. Meanwhile, the research worker must proceed to test such working hypotheses as he thinks useful. Kosambi has contributed to the understanding of particular episodes, and by his example he has made an essential contribution to the great debate on writing Indian history. He has also given what seems to be the most serious and interesting attempt so far to apply Marxist theory to the study of history outside Europe.

Chapters 6-10 are more successful, or more interesting, than the earlier part of the book. With his research on the coinage of Kosala and Magadha Kosambi is more sure of his ground and more "intensive". We have room to note here only the pioneering contribution to the question of "feudalism" in India. The characterization of European "feudalism" attempted by Maurice Dobb (*Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1946, 36 f.): not by Marion Gibbs as erroneously stated by Kosambi on p. 370) is used to test Indian developments. The question remains open as to what is a useful definition of "feudalism", if indeed it proves possible to retain the term (and here we glance at Needham on Chinese "feudalism", in two stages: *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. i, pp. 85, 90 ff., 100 ff.). The distinction of both "slaveholding" and "feudal" societies as stages in the development of civilization seems now inadequate, and we feel the need for some deeper analysis. After all, Marx began his analysis of capitalism with the commodity, not with the wage-earner or with the capitalist.

If some readers find Kosambi too terse and outspoken, they should be mollified by the charming examples of domestic and military (elephant) economy and of religious cults recorded in and around his home in Poona.

A. K. WARDER.

LA VIE PUBLIQUE ET PRIVÉE DANS L'INDE ANCIENNE (II^e siècle av. J.C.—VIII^e siècle env.). *Fascicule VI. Les jeux et les jouets*. By JANINE AUBOYER. pp. xi + 51, 15 plates. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955.

This is the first to appear of ten volumes in which the *realia* of ancient India, as depicted in sculpture and painting, are to be classified, illustrated, and discussed. The whole series will include studies of architecture, furniture, vehicles, arms and tools, clothes, coiffures, and jewellery. The final volume will present an overall picture of early Indian daily life. Apparently it is not the intention of the author to give an exhaustive survey of her themes from literary sources,

though she uses numerous literary references to elucidate her sculptural and pictorial material.

The present volume discusses children's toys (rattles, toy carts and horses, tops, and hobby-horses), sports (wrestling, ball-games, and archery contests), games of chance, and swings. Much stress, perhaps too much, is laid on the symbolic character of these pastimes. The religious symbolism of dicing and swinging is indisputable, but we would not therefore agree with Mlle Auboyer that these amusements began as rituals with definite religious symbolism. "Nul doute que ce jeu ait eu une origine rituel," writes Mlle Auboyer (p. 24), referring to the game of dice. In evidence she cites the description of the ritual dice-game at the royal consecration ceremony, as described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. But does this prove that dicing began in India as a ritual act? Surely we have no special reason to believe so, when the remains of the Indus cities prove that dice were known in India over a thousand years before the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* was composed. By the same argument it might be shown that cattle raiding began as a ritual act, because in the royal sacrificial ritual the king takes part in a mock cattle raid. Moreover, whatever the ritual significance of the game of dice, we have no evidence that the many gamblers of ancient India were always consciously aware of it.

Similarly we are told that the swing was on the one hand associated with fertility and the prosperity of the countryside, and on the other with love and erotics (p. 32). Admittedly swinging is referred to by Kālidāsa and others as a feature of the spring festival, and it survives to this day in the Hindu feast of *dolāyātrā*, but we are not satisfied that the young women and girls of ancient India never used their swings except at such festivals, or that when they did use them they were always conscious of the fact that by so doing they were promoting the fertility of the crops. In early India, as everywhere else, men gambled because they found gambling exciting and hoped to get rich thereby, and women used swings because they enjoyed the sensation of swinging. It may be that, in the prehistoric past, all games and amusements began as ritual and sympathetic magic; but from the fact that most higher animals are given to play of various kinds this is very doubtful. It is certain that they were not always thought of as such. Moreover the symbolism of ritual acts is often posterior to the acts themselves. It is hardly likely that the complex cosmic symbolism of the Vedic sacrifices was elaborated until long after the sacrifices themselves had come into being. Similarly the cosmic symbolism of the Hindu temple seems to us to be a comparatively late and artificial growth, of far less significance than some authorities are inclined to attribute to it. The symbolism seems always to have been somewhat esoteric, the preserve of schools of learned men who specialized in trying to explain every aspect of life by this means. We believe that

for the early Indian man in the street it was of far less significance than might be believed from the emphasis which some modern students place upon it.

In her conclusion Mlle Auboyer appears in part to recognize this. "Il serait sans doute aussi faux de nier le symbolisme qui se rattache aux témoignages plastiques que de les parer en toute occasion d'allusions ésotériques" (p. 39), she writes. Certainly the symbolism was there. Whether the early Indian was always conscious of it is another matter.

The plates of this well produced fascicule are in the form of bold line drawings, the work of the author herself. They are not bound to the spine of the book, and thus are easily compared with one another and with the text. Though perhaps not impressive as works of art these sketches are far clearer and easier to interpret than photographic reproductions. We look forward to further instalments of Mlle Auboyer's very valuable corpus of illustrations of ancient Indian life.

A. L. BASHAM.

SINHALESE LITERATURE. By C. E. GODAKUMBURA. pp. xiv + 376.
Colombo: Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd., 1955.

The surviving literature of Sinhalese goes back over a millennium, and the evolution of the language may be traced in inscriptions to the second century B.C.; thus it is the oldest living Indo-Aryan tongue. Many of the Sinhalese classics are widely known and well loved in Ceylon, but a good deal of important material still remains in manuscript, and much more has only been published in unscholarly editions. So poorly has the literature of Ceylon been served by scholars that, until the publication of this volume, no thorough survey of it existed in English, and what histories of it had been written in Sinhalese were uncomprehensive and unscholarly. Dr. Godakumbura has filled a long-felt need with this general survey of the whole range of the literature down to the middle of the last century. A further volume is promised, to cover the more recent literature, which has been influenced by that of the West.

The book is not divided period-wise, but by topics, in two main sections, devoted to prose and poetic literature respectively, with shorter sections on popular and scientific literature. The author's main aim has been comprehensiveness. Much space is therefore devoted to works on *Vinaya*, glossaries, and similar texts intended for the teaching and edification of the Buddhist clergy. Dr. Godakumbura has ransacked the libraries of Colombo, London, and Copenhagen for material, and his book treats of many unpublished texts. It is the fruit of long years of work on the subject, and contains much information not to be found elsewhere. The scholar will find it invaluable.

We wonder, however, what will be the reactions to this book of the educated Ceylonese reader who wishes to learn more about his country's

literature. Here he will find little or nothing on the lives or character of the authors, or on the social and political environment in which their works were written. Such a literary classic as the *Kavsilumina* has three pages devoted to it, while a commentary such as Gurulugōmī's *Dharmapradīpikāva* receives five. Twenty-six pages are given to the lovely *sandēsa* literature, and an equal number to texts on grammar, lexicography, prosody, and poetics. The distribution of the available space was no doubt in part dictated by the comparative frequency of texts on the subjects concerned, but it is also indicative of Dr. Godakumbura's purposes and values, which are clearly those of the scholar. Indeed it would be hard for one who did not know him to tell from this book whether or not Dr. Godakumbura himself enjoyed reading the literature he has studied so thoroughly. There is room for a further history of Sinhalese literature, this time placing the emphasis on those works which are of significance to the contemporary reader and attempting to fit them into the social context of their times. We hope that soon Dr. Godakumbura, with his unrivalled knowledge of Sinhalese literature, history, and archæology, will undertake the further task of interpreting the literary heritage of Ceylon to the twentieth-century world.

A. L. BASHAM.

HISTORY OF THE SINHALESE NOUN. By D. J. WIJAYARATNE, with a Foreword by JULIUS DE LANEROLLE. pp. 217 + xxv. Published by the University of Ceylon Press Board (printed by the Colombo Apothecaries Co., Ltd.), Colombo, 1956.

This is a "historical study of the morphology of the Sinhalese noun, from the third century B.C. to the tenth century A.D.". Under the title *Morphology of the Noun in Sinhalese Inscriptions up to the Tenth Century A.D.*, it was a thesis accepted for the internal degree of Ph.D., London, in January, 1951.

Such a work is rarely published owing both to the difficulty and cost of printing. Students should, therefore, be grateful to the Ceylon University Press Board for publishing it, and to the printers who have been very successful at their job.

Geiger in his *A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, Colombo, 1938, historically examined both the phonology and morphology of the Sinhalese noun. Dr. P. B. F. Wijeratne, whose contribution the present author acknowledges, made a detailed examination of the phonology also up to the tenth century, published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London (1946-1957). The present thesis is an enlarged and detailed study of the field of morphology and, as the author says, it has been prepared under the guidance of Mr. A. Master whose specialized methods and technology are evident in the finished production.

Although much new knowledge on the subject has not emerged from

his study, Dr. Wijayaratne has arranged existing material systematically and with a great degree of precision. The index of nearly 1,500 words serves the purpose of a vocabulary of the language for the period covered. There is also an "Index of Morphemes, etc." with about 300 entries. The General Index is exhaustive.

A few questions of interest to students of Sinhalese discussed in the thesis have to be examined.

1. Dr. Wijayaratne's theory, "The earliest Sinhalese as recorded in the inscriptions of 3rd c. B.C., shows unmistakable evidence that it was a Mid. Indian dialect descended from Sanskrit (meaning undoubtedly Old Indian) having affinities with the eastern group of Mid. Indian . . ." (p. 2, sec. 4) is open to a great deal of doubt as further inquiries into the language and even researches in the field of the historical geography of the island indicate that the first Āryan colonists of Ceylon came from the north-west of India and one is led more and more to accept Geiger's views regarding the origins of the Sinhalese language (*A Grammar of the Sinhalese Language*, pp. vii ff.).

2. The difference between the language of the inscriptions and literary language (called "dialect" in this book) suggested by Dr. Wijayaratne in his statement, "the contemporaneous literary dialect and the inscriptional dialect of the tenth century represent the language at two different levels; the former manifests the archaic and artificial language of the scholar while the latter represents a popular form of speech closer to the spoken" (Preface, pp. iii-iv), is not correct and in fact the reverse is the position except perhaps in an author like GURUḤGOMI (of doubtful date) whose language bears archaic traces going back to the sources he drew from. This feature can be well observed even in later royal edicts, grants, despatches, etc., in Sinhalese and, indeed, it is a feature in any language the practice of which can be seen in the drafting of deeds, grants, proclamations, and the like. A superficial glance might show a regularity in the orthography of Sinhalese prose texts when compared with inscriptions, but this is the result of copying and editing only. A closer examination will not fail to reveal to the discerning student that the inscriptional language bears more traces of conservatism than the literary language.

3. Dr. Wijayaratne says in reference to "the scholar who wrote the *Sidatsaṅgarā*", "this problem of gender in Sinhalese has apparently defied even traditional scholars in Ceylon from the ancient times." But the author of the *Sidatsaṅgarā* understood thoroughly the gender (*liṅgu-bē*) of the Sinhalese noun as it existed during his day. The trouble rests not with the grammarian, but with modern students who do not understand his treatise or its purpose. The author of the *Sidatsaṅgarā*, while analysing the language of poetical texts, such as the *Kavsiḷumiṇa* and the *Muvadevdāvata*, was also dealing with other classes of works as well, and this one can clearly see from his discussions and examples.

He was further aware of the changes the language was undergoing as a result of new kinds of compositions, for example, the writing of *sannaya*—translations to Pali, Sanskrit, and even Eḷu books, and he points to new forms of expression resorted to in this process. To be brief, one is able to show that the analysis of gender in the *Sidatsaṅgarā* is absolutely correct, if one only examines how the nominatives of grammatically masculine, neuter, or feminine Sanskrit words have been translated in the *sannayas* (*arut viyakana varā*).

A point with regard to which Dr. Wijayaratne might have profitably directed his inquiries is the similarity between the treatment of nouns denoting female persons and lifeless objects in some instances, e.g. —*denak*, *karuṇak* (p. 181).

Referring to the note numbered 8 on page 36, one would think that the connection of “animate” and “inanimate” with the Pali terms *saviññāṇaka* and *aviññāṇaka*, speaking also of the influence of Buddhist teachings on the psychology of the Sinhalese people, was distinctly far-fetched. Have not words been similarly categorized in languages spoken by people who had no notion of Buddhist thought?

4. The observations made by Dr. Wijayaratne on the grammatical number of inanimate nouns had been already made in a thesis on *Sinhalese Syntax* submitted for the external London degree of Ph.D. in 1944. A summary of the relevant portion has been also published in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1950, pp. 91–2. Geiger's views on the case-endings have been supplemented and discussed in this thesis. The history and derivation of postpositions and their syntactical use in the sentence have been also examined here. Some of the examples taken by Dr. Wijayaratne are common to the earlier thesis. Even if a later candidate drew his material from the same source, one would have expected him to have consulted the earlier thesis which was available to an internal student.

5. Coming to note number 2 on page 4, one cannot feel happy at the description of the Sinhalese word *gī* (Prakrit : *ghia*, Sanskrit : *ghṛta*) as a “loan-word”, because this term is employed by writers on Sinhalese grammar and lexicographers of the language as the equivalent of *tatsama*. Moreover, in considering the analogy of Sanskrit *mṛta* > Sinhalese *maḷa* supplied by the author, one cannot lose sight of the form *miya*, coming through *mata*, which is very close to the form *gī*, although the latter has not come to Sinhalese through the same process. Why label as “loan-words” forms like *gī* and *miya* which have also come to Sinhalese from Ancient Indian, though perhaps not by the regular path? This is indeed strange seeing what Dr. Wijayaratne says in his Preface, “The Sinhalese language in course of time has increasingly exhibited characteristics of a mixed dialect.”

6. Dr. Wijayaratne still abides by his translation of the word *veherala* as “timber” (pp. 69, 148). Dr. S. Paranavitana's learned paper on

this word (*Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. v, pt. 1) brings sufficient evidence to prove that this meaning is untenable.

This publication is a welcome and very important contribution to the historical grammar of Sinhalese. Students of this and related languages will urge the author to extend his inquiry to the more interesting period in the history of the language which begins with the tenth century and for which more material is available.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

THE BOMBAY DOCKYARD AND THE WADIA MASTER BUILDERS. By RUTONJEE ARDESHIR WADIA. pp xx + 401 + illustrations. Published by the author, Bombay, 1955. Rs. 22, As. 8 in India, Rs. 25 abroad.

In 1736 the Bombay Council wrote to the East India Company's factors at Surat that they needed a good Master Carpenter: "We are told that there is one in Surat named Lowjee. If he will come hither he shall have all fitting encouragement." This was the beginning of the association of this distinguished Parsee family with the Bombay Dockyard. They did great things there. As the author sees it, "the History of the Bombay Dockyard is the History of the Wadia family and their achievements over a period of six generations."

The early nineteenth century saw the zenith of Bombay shipbuilding, when the shortage of oak and the exigencies of the Napoleonic Wars compelled the Admiralty to look there for new ships. The Wadias built some noble ships of the line for the Royal Navy. The *Cornwallis* (1,767 tons, seventy-four guns) saw action not only against the American *Hornet* in the War of 1812, but also in the Crimean War. The *Asia* (2,239 tons, eighty-four guns) was the flagship of Admiral Codrington at Navarino. The *Ganges* (2,284 tons, eighty-four guns) was the last sailing flagship of the Navy.

In the controversy stimulated by the arrival of India-built ships in the Thames, there were many to attest the merits of the teak of Malabar and the shipbuilding skill of the Bombay Dockyard.

During the whole of this period successive members of the Wadia family occupied the post of Master Builder until it was abolished in 1884. For some time before this date, however, the family had been taking less interest in shipbuilding. With the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1863 and the subsequent retrenchments in the Dockyard, the opportunities for ambition there seemed to be diminishing. On the other hand, with the growing prosperity of Bombay commercial life seemed all the more attractive to them. The author might perhaps have paid more attention to general historical factors in this matter—to the significance, for example, of new methods and materials following upon the development of the iron-built ship. But as it stands, his book is to be welcomed as a valuable contribution to social as well as naval history.

K. A. BALLHATCHET.

SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN WESTERN INDIA 1817-1830.

By K. BALLHATCHET. London Oriental Series, vol. v. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. by 6 in. pp. vii + 335. Plates 1, maps 2. Oxford University Press, 1957. Price 45s.

Dr. Ballhatchet's well-documented volume deals with the policy adopted by Mountstuart Elphinstone in the Peshwa's territories after the final Maratha war and his later policy as Governor of Bombay. Elphinstone was one of a remarkable group of able Indian civilians whom the Company's service produced in the early nineteenth century. John Malcolm, Thomas Munro, Charles Metcalfe, and he were not only practical administrators, but serious students of Indian history, customs, languages, and institutions. The growth of their influence in administrative affairs, coinciding as it did with definite instructions from the home authorities, prevented the extension of the Permanent Settlement to other parts of India and led to the fall from power of those officials who belonged to what Metcalfe aptly termed the "Cornwallis caste". Dr. Ballhatchet shows how Elphinstone was influenced by Samuel Davis of Benares whose analysis of the government of Bengal formed the basis of the Fifth Report of 1812. He also discusses the influence on Elphinstone of Thomas Munro and the limited extent to which he was influenced by Bentham. He stresses Elphinstone's desire to conciliate Brahmins and shows the levelling effect of the revenue and judicial systems introduced by the British frustrated his efforts to maintain the position of the old aristocracy in the conquered Maratha territories. The book is extremely informative on the growth of the political service in Satara under Grant Duff and Briggs. It is unfortunate that he has been unable to consult the private papers of Briggs recently acquired by the Bodleian Library. The account of the policy adopted towards the Bhils breaks fresh ground. Dr. Ballhatchet goes into tremendous detail and his book will be welcomed by specialists but will be heavy reading for those unacquainted with India. Based throughout on a variety of manuscript sources it is a scholarly piece of research and not a journalistic attempt at a best seller like so much modern historical writing.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

JAINA PSYCHOLOGY. By MOHANLAL MEHTA. 220 pp. Published by the Sohanlal Jaindharma Pracāraka Samiti Amritsar (India), 1955. Rs. 8.00.

Dr. Mehta has written a clear and concise account of the psychological aspects of the Jaina world-view. The author claims, however, that "an attempt has been made to critically compare the Jaina analysis of different psychological problems with the investigations of modern Western psychology . . . where possible" (p. xi). There appears, however, to be little here of critical comparison: the views of

Westerners and Jains being merely stated side by side. The range of Western psychology considered seems rather narrow, the main authority consulted being McDougall, though a glance is cast in the direction of Parapsychology as being favourable to Eastern ideas on pre-cognition, telepathy, and similar phenomena. In view of discussions about the nature of pleasure and pain and of the sex-urge it is surprising to find little or no reference to Freudian psychology. Modern psychology can hardly treat the problem of the synchronic or non-synchronic appearance of pleasure and pain without some reference to the sub-conscious, though the only room provided for the latter in Jaina thought appears to be the fourth class of fears "produced in us in the absence of an apparent external cause" (p. 131). The non-compatibility with modern Western views of ancient Indian thought's realist tendencies appear very clearly in the argument on laughter (p. 128) where the author persists in considering the "nature of laughter as such" without reference to any consideration of its types and categories. One can only hope that Dr. Mehta will be tempted to give a fuller comparative account in the future. In this connection it may be said that the various forms of meditation, considered as a *technique* of self-transcendence remain as the major source of interest to Western students of Indian psychology.

P. S. JAINI.

E. MICHAEL MENDELSON.

Buddhism

STUDIES IN THE ORIGINS OF BUDDHISM. By GOVIND CHANDRA PANDE, M.A., D. Phil. pp. 596. University of Allahabad, 1957. Ancient History Research Series, No. 1.

This book includes a good bibliography and an index which might have been fuller. It was "designed to consist of a group of organically connected historical studies relating to the origins of Buddhism" (p. v) and was inspired by Mrs. Rhys David's pioneer attempts to find the original message in the Nikāyas as opposed to "later growths". Dr. Pande's critical and fully documented work certainly advances this search. Using Indian, and to a lesser extent Chinese and Tibetan sources, he devotes Part I to a detailed stratification of the Nikāyas into early and late, depending on such features as the words, phrases, ideas, and doctrines portray; an example is his suggestive reconstruction of *Majjhima Sutta* 62 (p. 151). I am unable to agree, however, that *Majjhima Sutta* 29 "displays no late features whatever" (p. 122),

and find it strange that Dr. Pande, usually so thorough, passes by the striking compounds *samayavimokha* and *samayavimutti* without a word. His shrewd remarks running through this large-scale analysis must quicken the reader's awareness of numerous problems connected with a study of the Nikāyas.

Part II on the Vedic Background, the Religious Conditions of the Age of the Buddha, his Life, on Suffering and Paṭiccasamuppāda (excellently done), and on Nirvāna and so on, could have formed a separate book. Yet these subjects, worked out at some length and their intrinsic interest coming very much alive under Dr. Pande's fresh approach, are also relevant to the stratifications of Part I.

The orderly treatment of the material here surveyed, including the work of earlier scholars which on occasion is summarized and assessed, and the number of further references given, make one look forward to yet more investigations of Buddhist topics by this alert author.

I. B. HORNER.

THE JATAKASTAVA OR "PRAISE OF THE BUDDHA'S FORMER BIRTHS".

By MARK J. DRESDEN. Indo-Scythian (Khotanese) Text, English Translation, Grammatical Notes, and Glossaries. Vol. 45. The American Philosophical Society, n.s., 1955.

The Buddhists favoured a type of composition called Jātakastava extolling the acts of the Buddha in previous jātakas. Another Sanskrit text of this kind was published in *BSOS.*, ix, 851 ff. In the present book we have a poem in the language of Khotan composed in the late tenth century A.D. The Buddhist poet has told fifty tales of the Buddha to illustrate the virtue of *dhairya* "endurance". The introduction sets before us the Khotanese poet modest and fearful of error who has persuaded the author Vedyāśīla of the *vihāra* Sāmānyā to translate his own, almost certainly Sanskrit, poem into the language of Khotan so that he might give it a Khotanese dress. This work was to redound to the glory of the Great King Viśa' Sūra.¹ Composition in Sanskrit in Central Asia is known in the prose and verse of documents from the Kuči-*viśaya* and the Agni-*viśaya*.² Professor Dresden in the present book has excellently edited the Jātakastava from Khotan with translation, commentary, and identification of the Jātakas tales. It is a valuable introduction to the study of Later Khotanese, a book which has hitherto been lacking in the armoury of Indo-Iranian studies. It is a model of how such Later Khotanese texts should be treated: no

¹ The name *Vi*, from which this adjective *Viśa'* was made by a suffix *-śa'* to serve the Kings of Khotan as proper name, is attested in the name of the first station of the journey to Kāśmīra described in the Itinerary, line 1, *Vi janivi* "the land Vi". This text is in *Khotanese Texts*, ii, 55.

² H. Lüders, *Weitere Beiträge*, pp. 16, 25.

longer to assume the Older Khotanese stage and call all later developments corruption, but to deal with it as a language in its own right.

The lapse of years since the *Jātakastava* was first prepared for publication in *Khotanese Texts*, I, has made it possible to improve the text in some points, and the interpretation is now nearly complete. The unexplained words can be expected gradually to yield up their secrets. I have, for example, just identified *ahamañña-* as "to despise, abuse" from a Prakrit equivalent of Buddhist Sanskrit *adhimanyati*, which explains the *Jātakastava* 8 v 4 *ahamñe ysire* as "abusive, rough". The passage 29 v 2 (of which we know the parallels) *tte kūstai ūce* can now be explained. In *tte* we have a word meaning "drop", hence a connection of the Ossetic words Digor *ärtāx*, Iron *ärtāx* "drop", and Digor, Iron *ärtāx* "dew", with the related Middle and New Persian *tar* "moist" (Dēnkart 10, 12, *ēmak ī tar* "wet fuel"), and Ormurī *tr-* "drink". Khotanese has also in P 2925, 33 (*Khotanese Texts*, iii, 101), the word *ttraha* "draught". In *ūce* we have the adjective *ūcaa-* "of water" as in P 2956, 30 (*Khotanese Texts*, iii, 37), *ūcā mūrakā* "water birds". Thus *tte . . . ūce* are "water drops". The verb *kūstai* in the context refers to the transference of liquid. Connections can be suggested in two directions. The first is to see here the West Iranian *ākustan* "to attach, suspend". Thus, Zātspram (35, 22) has: *aš band-ē hačiš ākustak pat humānākīh ī dām-ē kē-š muro māhīk patiš gīrīhēt* "he attached to it a string in the likeness of the string of a snare with which a bird or fish is taken". The word is known also in the Pahlavī Psalter 136, 2, *APmn . . . kustusy kn'ly* "and we hung up our harps". The Turfan texts have both Persian and Parthian *āgust*.¹ This would serve if from "attach" we could reach "take up". The second connection lies with Ossetic Digor *fālgotun*, *fālgocun* "to strain, filter; to cool liquid by lifting it and pouring it back to prevent it boiling over".² The derivative *fālgotān* means "ladle, spoon". This verb thus has reference to transfer of liquid. By regular changes the word has replaced older **pari-kauθ-* and **pari-kauθya-*.³ The participle of such a verb would give Khotanese *kūsta-*.

We can note, too, that the present *tsām-* "swallow" can be set beside the participle *tsoda-*. In the Jivaka-pustaka 84 v 5 we have *ṣvīda tsāmāññā* "milk is to be swallowed". The *ts-* indicates an older *čy-* and thus gives the explanation of Avestan *šam-*.

The metrical study promised on p. 402 will be very welcome. Meantime the book is an important contribution to the difficult study of Indo-Iranian antiquity.

H. W. BAILEY.

¹ C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i, 39, 45.

² This complex meaning is that also of Lettish *adst*.

³ Ossetic Digor *āsmotun*, Iron *smūdyn* "smell", with Sogdian *sm"ṣn* "perfume" (with *-ā-* from *-āu-*, as in Man. Sogd. *ʾsm'm* beside Khotan. *ṣṣānauma-*, see BSOSAS, 10, 587) shows that Digor *-t-* could also have replaced *-d-*.

Miscellaneous

A WORLD ON THE MOVE. pp. 264 + 675 illustrations. Djambatan, Amsterdam. 45 sh.

This is a picture album illustrating the history of Asia in the first part of the present century. The text is an English translation of an outline of events and dates prepared by two Professors at the University of Amsterdam. Kitchener, Lord Balfour, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Lenin, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, Naguib, Mossadegh, and innumerable other figures, mostly Asian, appear among illustrations of Pearl Harbour, the destruction of Manila, Hiroshima, a Japanese soldier who has committed *hara-kiri*, some scenes of progress and many scenes of misery, revolution, and war.

LE SYMBOLISME COSMIQUE DES MONUMENTS RELIGIEUX. Conférences par R. BLOCH, J. DANIELLOU, M. ELIADE, M. GRIAULE, C. LEVI-STRAUSS, C. HENTZE, H. C. PUECH, G. TUCCI. pp. 123, figs. 22. Serie Orientale Roma, xiv, 1957.

Some of the papers in this symposium, such as R. Bloch, "Le symbolisme cosmique et les monuments religieux dans l'Italie Ancienne," and J. Daniélou, "La symbolique du temple de Jerusalem chez Philon et Josephe," deal with the application to certain buildings of cosmic symbolism which has for some twenty-five years been recognized to have been widely prevalent in the ancient world. C. Levi-Strauss shows similar applications in American architecture and social organization, thereby providing some interesting material for those concerned with trans-Pacific diffusion problems. At the same time he shows that some of the more primitive American peoples, such as the Winebago, do not even know the relatively simple sky, earth, underworld divisions, but conceive of only two parts: earth and sky. So, too, C. Hentze in his very original article "Cosmogonie du monde dressé debout et du monde renversé", interpreting certain cabalistic markings on some of the *t'ao t'ie* masks on Shang and Chou bronzes, finds that these represent a cosmos of two planes *only*, sky and earth. These conclusions have a bearing on M. Eliade's article "Centre du monde, temple, maison", perhaps the one of widest interest. Following Paul Mus he rightly stresses the importance of the cosmic axis as the initiate's means of penetrating from plane to plane. But, as he avoids history and ignores prehistory, he does not consider whether any Mesopotamian cosmology spread over Asia before the late many-tiered planetary form. So for him the three-world cosmology is primitive and universal. But is not the two-world earth/sky dualism more likely to fill that role? Not only is that suggested by material in two of the articles mentioned above, but in Indonesia the animistic pair Earth/Sky is

often synthesized into a cosmic Supreme Being (cf. R. Pettazzoni, *The All-knowing God*, p. 336). Such facts may cause the reader to feel that some of Eliade's conclusions are premature; but the matter cannot be developed here. The symposium as a whole is valuable as marking a stage in a relatively new subject of research on which there is need for much further work.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

HANDLIST OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS IN LEIDEN AND OTHER COLLECTIONS
IN HOLLAND. Edited by P. VOORHOEVE.

The reviewer of this on page 251 of *JRAS*, 1957, regrets that he overlooked that Dr. Voorhoeve was following a system long observed at Leiden.

DURHAM UNIVERSITY

The Durham School of Oriental Studies will be grateful for old Sudan Almanacs, Sudan periodical, parliamentary, Chamber of Commerce, Company, and other reports and records, Army Lists, Muslim and Xtian literature on the Sudan, books, diaries, Sudan newspapers and photos. Please address

RICHARD HILL, Esq.,
School of Oriental Studies,
Elvet Hill, Durham.

OBITUARY

SIR JOHN CUMMING

Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., died in London on 9th March, 1958, in his ninetieth year. From 1887 until 1920, when he retired on grounds of health, he was a member of the Indian Civil Service. In 1909 he became a Secretary to the Bengal Government and in 1913 Chief Secretary. A few years later Lord Zetland (then Lord Ronaldshay) made him a member of the Executive Council of Bengal.

After retirement he became Vice-Chairman of the London School of Oriental and African Studies (1926-1946) and a member of the Council of this Society, which he joined in 1943, giving it the unobtrusive service that was so characteristic of him.

His published works include Murray's *Handbook for India*, 1924, *Modern India*, 1931, *Political India*, 1932, and *Revealing India's Past* (1939).

As the Marquess of Zetland has remarked: "He was endowed with an innate modesty which tended to mislead a casual observer as to the extent of his abilities."

PROFESSOR E. D. EDWARDS

Professor Evangeline Dora Edwards, Lit.D., daughter of the Rev. John Edwards, died in London on 29th September, 1957, in her sixty-ninth year. After spending nine years in China she joined the staff of the School of Oriental Studies as a Lecturer in 1921, becoming a Reader in 1931 and Professor of Chinese in 1939.

Her most important work was her *Chinese prose literature of the T'ang period*, London, 1937-8. In 1940 she wrote a volume on Confucius. She published also two anthologies of translations and passages on China and the Far East and South-East Asia, the *Dragon Book* (1938) and *Bamboo, Lotus, and Palm* (1948). But devotion to multifarious duties at the School of Oriental Studies prevented her from prosecuting her Chinese studies. Her last service was to act as Head of the Percival David Foundation. Unvarying kindness and consideration won her the affection of her colleagues and many students.

She joined this Society in 1925 and served it both as Honorary Secretary and a Member of Council.

H. G. RAWLINSON

Hugh George Rawlinson, whom death has lately removed, was born in 1880 at Middlesbrough, and went up to Cambridge as a scholar of Emmanuel College. He took a First in the Classical Tripos, gained the Hare University Prize, and in 1903 passed into the Education Service of the Government of Ceylon, which after five years he changed for the Indian service. In India he became Principal of the Karnatak College in Dharwar and later of the Deccan College in Poona, where he stayed until his retirement in 1933.

His copious literary labours were mainly devoted to studies in Indian history and cognate themes. Chief among them were *Indian Historical Studies* (Longmans, 1913), *Shivaji the Maratha: his Life and Times* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915), *Intercourse between India and the Western World* (Cambridge University Press, 1916), *Napier's Rifles: the history of the 5th Battalion, 6th Rajputana Rifles* (1920), *British Beginnings in Western India, 1579-1657: an account of the early days of the British Factory of Surat* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920), *Great Men of India* (London, 1931), *Outram's Rifles: a history of the 4th Battalion, 6th Rajputana Rifles* (1933), *The History of the 2/6th Rajputana Rifles, Prince of Wales's Own* (1936), a good chapter in *The Legacy of India* (1937), *India: a short cultural history* (London, Cresset Press, 1937, and later editions 1948, 1952, 1955), *A Concise History of the Indian People* (Oxford University Press, London, 1938, and later editions), *The History of the 3rd Battalion, 7th Rajput Regiment, Duke of Connaught's Own* (1941), *Makers of India* (Oxford University Press, London, 1942), the chapter on "The Rise of the Maratha Empire" in *The Cambridge History of India* (1947), the chapter on the historical background in Sir R. O. Winstedt's *Indian Art* (1947), *The British Achievement in India* (Hodge and Co., London, 1948), and *History of the 8th King George V's Own Light Cavalry* (1948). And his interest in India led him to extend it to other lands, as witness his *Bactria: the history of a forgotten empire* (London, 1912), and *Narratives from "Purchas his Pilgrimes"*, selected and edited by him (1931). He edited Forbes's *Ras Málá* (1924), J. Brown's translation of Kāśirāja's *An Account of the Last Battle of Panipat*, with introduction, etc. (1926), John Ovington's *A Voyage to Surat* (1929), Basil Hall's *Travels in India, Ceylon and Borneo* (selected) (1931), and a revision of Vincent Smith's *The Oxford Student's History of India* (1926, 1929); and he published *A Garland of Indian Poetry* (1946).

Nor does the tale of his publications end with the above. *Musis amicus*, he traversed broad regions of other literature leading him to produce much miscellaneous matter in the capacity of editor. Thus he edited J. A. Froude's "Selected Essays" in Longmans' *British Classics for India* (1915), *Literary Essays* (Macmillan, London, 1920), Morley's *Select Essays*, with introduction and notes (1923), *Selected Essays* of Matthew Arnold (1924), Selections from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1925), R. L. Stevenson's *Selected Essays*, with introduction and notes (1923, 1925), Walter Pater's *Selected Essays* (1927), A. E. Becher's *Personal Reminiscences* (1930), and Viscountess Falkland's *Chow Chow*, with introduction and notes.

L. D. BARNETT.

WALTER PERCEVAL YETTS

Professor W. Perceval Yetts, C.B.E., D.Lit., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., was born on 25th April, 1878, and died on 14th May, 1957. From Bradfield College he went to Lausanne before beginning his medical studies at London, where he qualified as physician and surgeon in 1903, and entered the Royal Naval Medical Service. He was placed first on passing out of Haslar in 1904, and was awarded the Admiralty Gold Medal in Naval Hygiene. His interest in Chinese art and culture was aroused on his first arrival on the China coast in H.M.S. *Thistle*, and the subject soon began to attract him irresistibly. In 1911 he was promoted Staff Surgeon, but resigned from the service on his marriage in the following year. Then came the turning point in his career. He was appointed Acting Physician to the British Legation in Peking, and at once fell under the spell of the beauty and dignity of that city. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he volunteered to rejoin the Navy, but was promptly commissioned in the R.A.M.C. in which he served with distinction and was awarded the O.B.E. After further service as a medical officer in government departments he retired and devoted himself entirely to the pursuits which had now come to occupy almost the whole of his leisure time.

He had already contributed articles on a variety of subjects to the *Journal* of this Society, in which he was destined to find some life-long friendships. Especially productive was that with L. C. Hopkins, the doyen of Chinese epigraphists in the West, whose writings in the *Journal* were then attracting keen attention. Yetts's

interest in the ancient script, thus stimulated, led him inevitably to the study of the ritual bronzes and Buddhist sculpture, the most important vehicles of the inscriptions. His three volumes of the Eumorfopoulos Catalogue, published between 1929 and 1932, set a new standard of scholarship in Chinese art studies, and when the University of London decided to establish a Chair of Chinese Art and Archaeology at the Courtauld Institute in the latter year, there could be no doubt as to who would be chosen to fill the post. He held it with distinction until his retirement as Professor Emeritus in 1946.

There have been few men to whom the name perfectionist could be more fairly applied. His sense of responsibility to his students and his readers for accurate information and balanced judgment was prodigious. It was reflected as much in the care with which he corrected his students' essays as in his attention to the smallest details of phrasing, referencing, and typography in his published work. He expected at least comparable standards in the work of his colleagues, and if such standards were not attained, his criticism, though always courteous, was outspoken and sometimes devastating. One consequence of this devotion to accuracy and completeness has been a sad disappointment to his friends. For more than twenty years he had been engaged on a great work to be called *Ceremonial Bronzes of Ancient China*. Had it been possible to publish it during the war, a book of reasonable size and completeness could have been produced, but since the war the spate of archaeological discovery in China has demanded continual revision and re-writing. At the suggestion of friends in 1948 he executed a will appointing a literary executor, myself, to publish the book, if this should not have been achieved in his lifetime. The will, however, authorizes publication only of such sheets of manuscript and block proofs as bear the endorsement "Completed for Publication" and signed by the author. Unfortunately not a single sheet has been found so endorsed.

Of the few books bearing the name of Yetts the best known is *The Cull Chinese Bronzes* of 1939, a volume of essays inspired by objects in the collection of Mr. A. E. K. Cull. But his reputation rests largely on his articles in periodicals, which number nearly a hundred, apart from reviews. A majority appeared in our *Journal* or in *The Burlington Magazine*, and many continue to be of great value to students years after publication. His last work was his

part in *The Rulers of China*, an important book on chronology in which he collaborated with the late Professor A. C. Moule. A feature of his writings is the excellence of his detailed drawings of decoration and inscriptions. He designed and executed the device on the cover of this *Journal*.

Yetts joined the Royal Asiatic Society in 1910, and served on its Council and Publications Committee for many years from 1916 until 1945, when he was made an Honorary Vice-President. He also supervised the cataloguing of the Chinese books in our Library.. In 1956 he was awarded the Society's Triennial Gold Medal.

He was Chairman of a Selection Committee for the International Exhibition of Chinese Art at the Royal Academy in 1935-6, and Chairman of Council, The China Society, in the difficult war years, 1940-5. He served for many years on the Universities' China Committee in London and was an Honorary Member of the Oriental Ceramic Society. For his services to sinology he was awarded the C.B.E. in 1944 and the Order of the Brilliant Star (China) in 1947. He was a gifted artist in water-colour, etching, and tempera, while his neighbours in Buckinghamshire remember him with gratitude for his lively enterprise as local branch Chairman of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD.

THE ACQUISITION AND RISE OF BOMBAY

BY SIR PATRICK CADELL

WHEN THE ISLAND of Bombay was included as an item in the dowry of the Portuguese Princess Catherine on her marriage to King Charles II, Lord Clarendon, who as Lord High Chancellor had a principal share in the negotiation for the marriage, is alleged to have referred to "the Island of Bombay with the towns and castles thereon, which are within a little distance from Brazil". This assertion may fit in with the belief that has been sometimes expressed that Great Britain acquired her Empire in a fit of absence of mind. It can, however, have no foundation in fact. There was a great deal of give and take in the Contract for the marriage. Portugal received a body of English troops to protect her from the attacks of the Dutch; England relinquished any claim upon Ceylon, an undertaking faithfully observed, though it did not prevent the Dutch from ousting the Portuguese from that Island. For this assistance England received an adequate return. Portugal resigned her claim to Tangier, and gave up her holding in Bombay. The value of the harbour of Bombay had already been recognized by the Directors of the East India Company in London, and by its factors at Surat. It is absurd to suppose that Clarendon was not fully informed of the situation and the value of this important item in the bargain. Apart from any other source of information he had before him the letter discussed below from an impartial observer. It would be too much to suggest that the letter had any great influence on the decision. It is, however, interesting to have so clear an idea of the potential value of the proposed acquisition.

No mention is made, so far as is known, of the writer of the letter in any of the early books or records about the West Coast of India. In his first letter to Lord Clarendon, like his other letters without date, but probably written fairly early in 1661, the writer says that for the past nine years he had "traced foreign countries as being unwilling to draw in the ayre of my native ayle least I should be taynted among the rest with disloyalties". It may be assumed that he was Royalist in his sympathies, though it is unlikely that he had fought in the Civil War on the King's side. If he had done so,

he would have mentioned it in support of his request for employment. He writes that he had first travelled in occidental parts and had then resolved to visit oriental parts and for six years had spent his time there "to inform my judgment of their nature and fertility, the habits and religion of the people, the manner of their trafficke, their policy in governing their kingdoms and subduing their enemies".

In the course of this ambitious programme he had "raigned Madagascar, Johanna, Zelon, Pegu, Syam, Sumatra, Java, some part of Chyna, the coast of Coromandel, the Bay of Bengal, the coast of India from Cape Comorin to the River Indus". He had then returned overland from Ormuz to Aleppo, through Persia, Media, Kurdistan, Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Syria. Then "plowing up the billows of the Mediterranean" he had sailed by way of Cyprus to Leghorn, and onwards to England. He says that if in any way serviceable to His Majesty by relating what he knows he will with alacrity make response to all questions.

He ends with a postscript, "I brought several toyes from these places, but was robbed at Bolonia in Italy, yet some escaped which I shall presume to present to your Lordship, which I humbly crave for acceptance."

A second letter ran as follows: "Not long since I presumed to acquaint your Lordship that for many years I have eaten my bread in foraigne soyles, endeavouring to accomplish myself with languages to make myself more capable. The truth on it is, travel expense hath eaten up patrimony. Harde it is in my opinion (if I might be a competent judge) for one who hath lived happily abroad, to suffer hunger in that place where he first drew his breath."

He then asks for employment with many apologies and "with height of modestie and humileation", either by sea or land, at home or abroad.

As with his previous letter, he adds a postscript. "I fervently beg upon my bended knees your Lordship's acceptance of this humble present. Had I not been robbed at Bolonia, it would have been worth presenting. I have a dammisk simmeter which, if your Honour pleased to accept it, would be gladly presented."

Evidently Page had then an interview with the Chancellor as he writes in a third letter: "Your honour was graciously pleased to declare this morning that you could not see what to say unto me in regard to my supplication in generall. Truly I supposed that

it would be an act too sublime and altogether unbecoming my present low condition to particularize any employment." He then says that, if offered the "lowest sphear at Court, yet, with a constant anxiety I shall embrace it. My Lord, I have not bread to eat". He ends up, "with very humble prayers for your Lordship's prosperous success in all your undertakings, and, when tyme shall be no more, that you may receive the reward of the Saints."

Whether these good wishes, for this world and the next, had any tangible reward is not recorded, but it would appear that the Chancellor asked for a description of Bombay and its harbour, and the result was the account that follows. It is on the whole admirably clear. It should, however, be remembered that Bombay was only one of a group of seven islands separated by arms and inlets of the sea, though passage on foot across them was generally possible at some point at low tide. Of these seven, only two, Bombay and Mahim, were of considerable size. Ultimately by the building up of banks, and the recovery of "drowned lands", the seven islands became one. At the period of the account, however, it is not always easy to decide whether references are to the whole group of islands, or only to the township (Portuguese *Caçabe* from Hindustani *Kasba*) of Bombay.

The letter runs as follows :—

My Lord,

In compliance with your commands I demonstrate that August the third, in the yeare 1660, I arrived at Bumbay upon the coast of India or rather Industan, for so the country is cald.

Bumbay is dirived from the fish Bumbaline, a fish all jelly, soe that fresh, it is not palitable, but being salted & dryed in the sunn, becomes the first and best fish in the orientall partes (of which vast quantities are taken in this bay).

The Pole Articke is elevated 19 deg : & 8.

The bay is verry deepe, and hath an island in it, hy land, and a mile in circuit, soe that by reason of this island the raging waves of Neptune are subdued, and the bay made an excellent harbour. It is verry large, soe that a 1000 sayle of ships may ride land locked, and as bould, for we never had less than 7 fathom of water at our entrance, and when in, and at anchor, 9. The land in the country opposite to it is verry remarkable, for it makes in great hamoucks, and barne land, as the mariners tearme it.

The island in the bay is not habited, neither any building upon it,

but capable of receiving either, and if a fort or castle was erected it would conduce much to the strength of the place. In the head of the bay there is a great stone house, 'twas built by Don Diego de Monzant, a Portugal hidalgo, a person of greate esteeme among that nacion. He raised the fabrick for his one defence against the fury of the Dutch, and hath 5 or 6 small gunns mounted upon his house for now & then the Dutch men of warr would enter the bay. A flights shoote from this house theire is a towne, but all poore cottages, not any house of noate, for none but fishermen habits it, they take their fish from September to Aprill, which is their summer, for from Aprill to September not a boate stirs, but are all hald up upon the shore and thaatched with the leaves of toddy trees to preserve them from the vyolent stormes that fall in May, June, & July.

The people of the place are Gentues, except a few rice Christians (as they call them), some that have bin baptized by the Portingalls, wch they alow a quantitie of rice per mensem to encourage others to subscribe obedience to the name of Christ. The land all about it very firtle, yealding a good encrease to the industrious husbandmen, haveing many plaines comodious for sowing theire graine. It affordes wheate, rice, and doll, a graine not unlike our fetch, yt is verry harty, they break it in quarters, and boyle it among theire rice.

The feilds are full of cattell, viz., cows, sheepe, goates, the gardings and orchards laden with frutes, as oranges, lemons, lymes, jamboos, guavas, grapes, citrons, melons, both water & musk, pine aples, pumgranets & many other sortes, so that in my opinion it is the best & delightfulest place upon that coaste, and I often wondred that our platts, as well as the Dutch, was soe sylent of it. Theire is a river that runs from Bumbay to Basseine, a great Portingall citty 7 leagues distant, and all the way the land firtle, and divers greate houses of the Portingalls are erected, and some small townes cituated upon the river on both sides. The place is convenient for the building of ships, for either they may build to lanch, in regard of the greate ebbing & flowing, or els make docks; and as for good timber, in order theire too, that cannot be wanting, for betweene Basseine & Damaun, I have passed a whole day in a wood. The country for 25 or 30 leagues, is in the hands of the Portingalls, and in every greate towne, either of Gentoos or Mores, theire is a greate Portingall who they call Senor Capataine, wch keepes them in subjection, and receives yearly halfe the earth's increase.

The place lvs verry comodious for trafficke, & is much safer for shipping then Surrat, for that being an open roade, and haveing a greate barr at the entrance, ships come often to detriment, so that undoubtably, if Bumbay was once habited, and castles built for the ships safty, it would quickly become the mart.

I have presumed to present your lordship with so large a discourse in regarde I was ignorant of what perticular you desired to be informed. If I have not fully deleniated the nature of the place let your honor be pleased to condescend soe low as to make further proposals. I shall readily subscribe to make response. I humbly crave your lordships favorable construction in this opusculum and supplicate your honor to rest assured that if in this, or any thing els, I may be servisable to his Majestie, I have obtained the end of my travels. Let me once more presume to fix my hand to what I ever did protest, that is a loyall subject to his prince; and one that breathes fervently after that honor to be esteemed one of your lordships meanest servants.

From my chamber
in Fetter Lane
London.

John Page

It must not be supposed that the value of the sheltered harbour of Bombay had not been previously perceived. The Portuguese had for long had the mastery of the sea along the western coast. The first English ship had come to Surat in 1608, and their factory was established in 1612, but freedom of passage was not obtained till naval battles had been won against greatly superior Portuguese forces in 1612 and 1614. In 1622, the English and Portuguese ships had driven the Persians from Ormuz, thus opening up the Persian Gulf for commerce. The factory at Surat, however, had many disadvantages. It was subject to the close rivalry of the Dutch Factory, and the efforts of the French Company to establish itself. It was subject also to the exactions of the Mahomedan Viceroy of the Mogul Emperor at Ahmedabad, and even to those of the Emperor himself. It suffered from the disadvantages set out in Page's letter, of being situated on the banks of a difficult river, up which ships could not pass, necessitating transhipment at the mouth of the river in an inferior roadstead. It is hardly surprising therefore that Bombay should have been viewed with covetous eyes.

In 1625 the Court of Directors in London had proposed that the

Company should take Bombay. In 1626 the English Factors at Surat had proposed to the Dutch at that place that they should unite in attacking Bombay and should divide it between themselves. The attack was duly made in October of that year. The Castle and Great House were taken and burnt, but no effort was made to retain and divide the land. In 1640, Bombay was again mentioned as the best place along the western coast of India.

In 1652 the Factors at Surat recommended that it should be purchased from the Portuguese, while in 1654 the Directors in London drew the attention of the Lord Protector Cromwell to the advantages of the place. It is not surprising that, when the marriage treaty of Charles II provided that the King of England should defend and protect the subjects of the King of Portugal, the cession of Bombay to the English Crown should be suggested.

John Page's description of Bombay may be annotated as follows. Though his derivation of the name of Bombay from the fish which he calls Bumbaline is incorrect, it is interesting as the fish is still well known in Bombay and its odour, in the dried form of Bombay Duck, may still linger in the nostrils of old residents of the city. It has the distinction of being the origin of the nickname long applied by the English of the other Presidencies to their brethren of Bombay. Though now known as Bommelo the form bumbelo survived till Maria Graham's book of 1810. She calls it by that name and adds, quite correctly, that it was eaten at breakfast with kedgaree. It has also the distinction of being mentioned in Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides.

Page did not fall into the commoner error of taking the name of the Island to be a corruption of the Portuguese "*buon bahia*", meaning a "good bay". The city is still known to the inhabitants of the surrounding country as Mumbai, which is taken to be derived from Maha Amba Devi, "the great goddess Amba," the Goddess Parvati, whose temple long existed in Bombay.

The island mentioned in the Bay must be that known as Butcher's Island. Though cattle were kept upon it in later days, and a (probably mythical) person, Robin the Butcher, is mentioned, the vernacular name was the Island of the Patecas, or water-melons. It is shown as Pitachoes Island in Fryer's map of 1672. Even this name is believed to be a corruption of Bhatiche Bet, the "low lying Island". The land beyond it consists of various Islands, including Puri, known to the Portuguese and to modern inhabitants as Elephanta

because of the stone elephant previously erected upon it, and now preserved in Bombay. It and the other islands at the back of the bay are certainly "hummocky". The meaning of "barne land as the sailors terme it" is not known.

The Island of Bombay had by Royal Patent, signed by the Viceroy at Goa, in 1572, been granted to the De Silva family. It had passed through female heiresses to other families and when the English obtained the Island was in the possession of Donna Ignês de Miranda, widow of Don Roderigo de Monçant, and known as Senhora da Ilha, the lady of the Island. Page writes that the Great House on the Island had been built by Don Diego de Monzant, a Portuguese Hidalgo of great esteem. This may be a small error on his part, or the Don may still have been alive at the time of his visit, but the correctness of the surname is evidence that Page must have visited the place.

The "great house" was probably on the site of the later Arsenal, and just behind the existing Town Hall in Elphonstone Circle. The "poore town, a flight's shoote from the great house" must be Mazagon, the Fish village, then and long afterwards, occupied by fishermen. As regards the population, there were in 1634, with a total population of some thousands, only eleven Portuguese families on the Island. Most of the land had passed into the hands of the Jesuits and other religious Orders, who had attempted to convert the inhabitants by force, in consequence of which the better classes, such as the Brahmans, had fled from the Island. The remainder had the choice of becoming "rice-Christians" or running the risk of persecution.

Most of the labouring class are stated to have been bred to arms. They were a Kanarese speaking people who had come up the Coast from the South. They were known as Bhandaris, a name now confined to the caste whose main occupation was the cultivation and tapping of Toddy Palm trees, but the name itself seems likely to have been derived from a Kanarese word meaning "warriors". When the English occupied the Island they formed a Bhandari Militia which lasted through the next century. In 1676, little more than ten years after the English occupation began, when a Portuguese attack upon Mahim was threatened, the Bhandaris turned out with a strength of four hundred men. When the Portuguese handed over Bombay their Indian soldiers seem only to have numbered seventy. The religious policy had greatly reduced the population of the

Island. In 1629 the Archbishop of Goa had told the Viceroy that the Jesuits had been the greatest enemies of the State. The Portuguese had no doubt about the serious consequences of the loss of Bombay. The Viceroy, de Mello de Castro, wrote to the King of Portugal, "India will be lost on the day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay."

As the local authorities could not prevent the Treaty, they did their best to make occupation by the English as difficult as possible. Sir Abraham Shipman had raised a regiment of four companies in England in 1662 for service in India. When these arrived in Bombay in 1664, the Portuguese Governor refused to allow them to land, on the pretext that Shipman himself was not with them, although it was represented that the men were dying daily. When Shipman arrived a few weeks later, landing was again refused, because he was not specifically mentioned in the documents. He had to go with his men to the uninhabited Island of Angediva, south of Goa. The graves of many of them can still be seen as shapeless mounds on that desolate island. Small wonder that Pepys wrote in his Diary in May, 1663: "the Portuguese have chous'd of Bombay." It required a further order from the King of Portugal in August of that year to compel the Viceroy to conform to the Treaty.

When the English were finally able to land in Bombay in 1664, Shipman had himself died at Anjediva. Only 114 soldiers survived out of the 500 that had arrived at Bombay, with one solitary officer, Ensign John Thorne, who may truly be regarded as the first regular officer of the Bombay Army.

The Treaty provided that the Port and Island of Bombay should be handed over with all the rights, profits, territories, and appurtenances belonging there unto. With a set of Islands separated by small inlets of the sea, there was much opportunity for dispute. One Humphrey Cooke, who had come out as Secretary to Shipman, was acting as Governor in his place. As the Portuguese Viceroy complained that he had known Cooke as a grocer in Lisbon, the latter had probably been chosen because of his knowledge of Portuguese. He had to yield to the Portuguese on various points, for which he was censured both by the Factors at Surat and by the Directors at home. It would not appear, however, that any other course was open to him. He deserves full credit for the acquisition of Mahim which, as before mentioned, was larger than the actual

Bombay Island, and contained a considerable town. Finding that the arm of the sea which separated Mahim from Bombay was fordable at low tide, he marched across and took possession of it, to the great indignation of the Portuguese, but apparently in accordance with the Treaty.

Though Cooke was afterwards dismissed by the East India Company for dishonest practices, he must be given the credit for accomplishing the English occupation of Bombay.

continued from page 71)

FOUR-LINE YAMAKA IN THE OLD JAVANESE RĀMĀYANA

By C. HOYKAAS

PART II

THE VARIETY OF yamakas in the OJR is roughly restricted to seven main types. The number of yamaka-stanzas is very considerable, about 240. Their distribution over the whole poem seems to be rather unequal, but this lack of balance can be ascribed to the presence of three extended episodes. (1) Sarga XVI.1-14 describes the building of the dam-connection (*setubandha*) between the continent of India and the island of Lēnkā, between Mount Mahendra and Mount Suwela; the rest of the sarga (15-47) counts some twenty yamaka-stanzas devoted to a description of the loveliness of Mount Suwela. (2) The description of The Paradise on Earth in Restored Lēnkā, XXIV.97-123,²¹ consists nearly exclusively of yamakas. (3) The Aerial Flight from Lēnkā to Ayodhyā by Heavenly Chariot Puspaka (XXIV.253-XXVI.9)²² consists of nearly nothing else. Once these passages are lifted from the TABLE, yamakas appear to be scattered more or less equally over a majority of sargas; we find the yamaka-form often continued in some consecutive stanzas.

Without exception students of the OJR have doubted if sarga XXV originates from the same poet as the bulk of the poem.²³ POEBBATJARAKA and JUYNBOLL objected to the description of The Paradise on Earth,²⁴ but ARCHELE offered a sound reasoning for its retention.²⁵ The BhK is the prototype for the OJR for the first half of the description (in yamaka-form) of nature's loveliness on Mount Suwela; comparison with the BhK shows the second half to be an addition. Discussion of the existing and the possible theories of interpolation in OJ kakawins generally and the OJR specially, however, would take us too far out of the way here. I should only like to point to the existence in India of exclusively *yamaka-kāvyas* like the Nalodaya and the Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya, and am inclined to look in this direction for the source and inspiration of our three passages.²⁶

Some explanation to the TABLE will be needed. To begin with, I expect that repeated reading aloud of the OJR, starting from a text in Latin transliteration, will discover some more yamakas not remarked in my silent study of the text in Javanese script.

In the second place DANDIN and BHATTI gave ideal examples; DANDIN was entirely free to make them, and BHATTI thanks to his virtuosity managed to cast his subject-material into the form of twenty different yamakas-without-interruption and without interrupting the course of his narrative. The poet of the OJR certainly has followed him, but was not under any obligation to make his yamakas as perfect as the original (though he did sometimes succeed in doing so). Hence, even when his use of assonance, repeated over four or at least three lines, entitles us to call his effort a yamaka, the type of yamaka is not always perfectly established. Yet in spite of some hesitation I have inserted cripple yamakas, as it is easier to delete them from the TABLE than to detect them in the text.

In the third place the letter D refers to DANDIN's Kāvyaḍarśa,²⁷ the famous Skr textbook on poetics. For BHATTI, after all, offered a poem containing exercises which were the poetical exemplifications of the rules laid down in the more theoretical handbooks. The textbooks *en vogue* shortly after his time must have overshadowed completely BHATTI's preceptors who have not yet been rediscovered.

These lasting authorities are in the first place DANDIN and also BHĀMAHA's Kāvyaḷaṅkāra. As BHĀMAHA proves to be rather short when dealing with this subject, offering but five different yamakas, a work like DANDIN's is the only relevant source for the BhK. For three types of yamakas to be found in the OJR which have no parallel in the BhK, DANDIN offers an example; perhaps DANDIN may have been known to the poet of the OJR. But as soon as a poet handles six or seven different types of yamaka, he can easily find quite a number more by himself without needing a handbook on poetics. In other words: though here a comparison as to yamaka-form is made, I aim only at demonstrating that in these cases recognized types of yamaka are involved, and not that DANDIN's Kāvyaḍarśa must necessarily have been followed. So here I give three types of yamaka, not found in the BhK, but exemplified by DANDIN.

Wwara wuni²⁸ mamanis ya poh²⁹ ambawani³⁰
 wwara wara-waranan³¹ kapuṇḍui³² limus³³
 Kamalaka³⁴ wadarālwa³⁵ wuḷwan³⁶ limo³⁷
 kamalagi³⁸ cala ket³⁹ kukap⁴⁰ gintuṇan.⁴¹

XVI.44

This enumeration of the botanic fertility on Mount Suwela has no precise counterpart in the contents of the

BhK XIII.32-43. This *yamaka* is the last of the clusters $4 + 9 + 6 + 1 = 20$ in sarga XVI, consisting of forty-seven stanzas only, of which thirty-two are devoted to the description of the beauty of Mount Suwela. This outburst of *yamakas*, considerably in excess of that in the preceding and the following sarga, coincides with the poet's taking leave of his example the BhK.

Here follows the stanza in Daṇḍin, the *yamaka*-type of which is comparable.

Mudā ramāṇam anvīta- mudā ramāṇi-bhūṣaṇāḥ
mada-bhramad-dīśaḥ kartum adabha jaghanāḥ kṣamāḥ (D. III.30)

[Sītā laments in utter despair]

"Tar paweh suka-sukâ ri manahku;
ndah pati n kasula tâku bhaṭāra!

XVII "Thou givest, (God) no joy at all to my mind;
67cd I die in torment, O Bhaṭāra!

"Ndā kuañ phala-phalâ ni patiniku
bhukti tâwaku n amūṣita rin hyañ."

68ab "Now, may the fruit of my death be
that I may enjoy paying homage to the gods."

Mānena mānena sakhi
khaṇḍitā kaṇṭham āśliṣya

praṇayo bhūt priye jane,
tam eva kuru satrapam (D. III.4)

(Three objections: (1) mere repetitions; (2) divided over two stanzas; and (3) not initial.)

[Continuation of Sītā's laments]

"Ndyēn purāṇa niyatēñ aji pūrwa;
mañkanā kadi laranta laranya.

XVII.71

"Where does it occur in the old lore?
for certain it is in the holy writings;
thus, as thy suffering is their suffering.

Hāha ho lalulalis mira sañ hyañ
Tar wulat rikañ ulah kasusatyan."

The form and frequency of yamakas in the OJK are an incentive to ask questions and draw conclusions. The form and frequency of yamakas in the OJK are an incentive to ask questions and draw conclusions. The form and frequency of yamakas in the OJK are an incentive to ask questions and draw conclusions.

questions will be dealt with here. The possibility of text- emendation based upon the presence of yamakas or clusters of yamakas, a subject already introduced by ATCHELE,²⁵ will be handled first.
Text-emendation based on yamaka. The kañci- or sandasta-yamaka, an example of which is BhK II.19 = OJR II.19, to be printed in SKr (+ transl.) and OJ (+ transl.) elsewhere,⁴² is characterized by having the last syllable(s) of one line repeated as the first one(s) of the following line. Sometimes here a copyist's error can be stated and corrected, as ATCHELE did in XVI.24-29²⁵ with good success.⁴³

Reasoning along the same line in another paper²³ I proposed to read *mata* for *kamh* in XXV.15. Here I should like to propose one more emendation in XIX.35a, and add the continuation, written in the same metre and using the same kañci-yamaka.

[Situation : The defence of Lankā against the attacks of the monkeys]

Wirūpākṣāpākṣākṣēnita ri dalēm ni n̄ pura-wara⁴⁴

Warah téka rowaṇ nira ya masukātuṅwa wataṇan :

“T’añanti n̄ke tuṅwa t wawa sahana niñ n̄ āyudha kabeh,
kabehika n̄ śatru n téka taya malaywan pinanahan.” XIX.35

[The Rāksasa] The Maimed Eye resolutely guarded the interior of the excellent town ;
he instructed his companions to take their places and keep watch on the audience-hall :
“Stay here, keep watch there and assemble every warrior,
all of you together attack the enemies, if they should come ; do not flee when they shoot at you.”

Nahan liñ sañ mantrī ri bala nira śiḡhrān tama ta ya,
tayānuñ tan sañkēp sama-sama rēḡēp śakti matahēn ;
“Ta hēntyan sakweh tāt tama ki ta kabeh ” liñnya mañatag ;
atag téka n̄ wadwā ya ta kakurutug rodra gumuruh.

So spoke the *mantri* to his soldiers, and thereupon they entered with speed, not one was unarmed ; all grasped [their arms] strongly and stood by.
 “Do not separate, you should all enter,” he said, calling out.
 He summoned his people who all combined to make a frightful uproar.

Murub krodhanyāgyā misanaua ikañ wānara-bala ;
 balātkāra krūrāṅgētēm añikikan bhīṣana mañaiñ ;
 mañārē m bām bēknyāmējahana sira ñ Rāma-wijaya
 jayātaḥ liṇyāpan gura-gaḍa mahāmūrka satata .

Their anger blazed up ; quickly they wished to destroy the monkey army ; vehement, rough, they set their teeth ; they shouted ferociously with open mouths. They had resolved in their minds to kill him, that victorious Rāma ;
 “Let us be victorious,” they thought [for] they were insolent and always very stupid.

Tatan wruh yan bhraṣṭā tuwi sa-kula-gotra-nya hilaña ;
 hilañ sandehanyān pamulat i gagak len asu hasaṇ
 asañkypūrweki n tēka muni humuñ lwirnya magirañ
 giraninyān mātyēkañ kala-jana watēk rākṣasa kabeḥ .

They did not know they would be annihilated, their whole race destroyed. Their doubts disappeared at the sight of wild dogs and crows,
 These came in unknown numbers, making a loud noise, as though they were rejoicing. They rejoiced that each of those malefactors, each of those rākṣasas would die.

In the following passage three emendations seem to be obvious.

[Situation : Sītā's aśoka-grove, restored to former loveliness, is the scene of a nocturnal garden party, in which the egresses, her

Kumucur ikañ pañcūran atirāmya
parijata.⁴⁵ muṅgwiñ parigī parantya⁴⁶
parawan umansō mamupu sēkarnya
mara marahup tan hana katakutnya.

XVII.128

Very beautiful fountains gushed forth,
paradise-trees had their place on the terraces;
the maidens came forward to pluck their flowers,
they went to wash their faces without apprehension.

Citra-yamaka
(cp. infra)

Wuṇa tali t'ambil hulu-r-uluranta
wuṇa wari nāhan wwara si ruhumya
wuṇa tēlēn akweh kadi ta rinēnga
wuṇa wara⁴⁷ raṇḡādbhuta pacarēnga.

129

Taking the *tali*-flowers they used them as fringes,
and the *wari*-flowers that were there above them;
tēlēn-flowers in quantities, as though they had been painted;
excellent lily blooms and lovely painted balsam.

Puṣpa-yamakas

Makulilian riñ talaga kabehnnya
paḍa mamupak pañkaja sahananya
sulur inalapyāmēñ-amēña donya
paḍa masēkar keśara rinurūnya.

130

All of them walked around the pond,
they cropped the lotuses, all of them,
the stems they took away intending to make use of them,
all the stamens of the flowers had fallen out.

Tamala-malah utpala inalapnya
 ulih-ulihanyâtisaya halépn ya
 ya tikana winwatnya ri sira dewya⁴⁸
 lumaku mulih sokya taratarâgya.

131

They took away quantities of blue lotuses,
 and what they took was beautiful to a degree,
 they were all proffered to the princess [Sītā],
 They went back home, happy and in no great hurry.

Aichele⁴⁹ declared as early as 1926 that the OJR XVII.119-32 directly contradict the original poem and must have been interpolated at the whim of a later redactor.

Poerbatjaraka⁵⁰ suspects even as many consecutive stanzas as 103-33, since he considers Sītā's lament (105-10) to be but a poor imitation of Rāma's (VI.117-28), and thinks that the final words of 102 link up very well with the initial ones of 134.

I hope I have found the *raison d'être* for this passage; my arguments lie outside the scope of this paper and will be found elsewhere.⁵¹

The stanza XVII.129 above with repetition of the same word at the beginning and of the final vowel throughout the four verses looks very much like XIX.85 following here:

[Situation: first clash between monkeys and ogres]

Mañkin durbala tékana ñ kapi-bala glānānā kweh kēna. **Citra-yamaka**
 Mār mañkēp kanin in tētēk urat hototnya sām̄pun pēgat.
 Mūrocā mūr sawaneh mēsāt ya sinawat wetnyān parah kweh tibā.
 Mōsah mōsik asāk tinūt ya malayū mundur tinūt anah. XIX.85

More and more powerless became the monkey-army, fatigued, wounded, all were hit.
 Crippled, inactive, their veins were cut by broad swords, their sinews severed.

They swooned and fled, others were flung down; because of their fractures many fell.
 Anrehensive, disturbed, crippled: they were followed in their flight, retreating they were followed by arrows.

Though poets contemporary with Daṇḍin used this *alankāra*, called *citra*, neither Bhāmaha nor Daṇḍin mention it. For the following passage I propose two more emendations :

[Situation : Bad plight of the elephants on the first day of battle]

Ya tēka malagēn rēṅk ya mat ḡḡl;
tēgal tuwi ya papraṇanya sawaneh;
waneh malaga riñ jurañ lawan alas;
alas sēsēk aneka tan kēna gaṇa.⁵²

They fought in the swamps, making a brave stand;
on level fields some did their fighting;
others fought in the ravines and in the woods;
the woods were full of them; many and uncountable.

Nanāsin inasōnya lāgi lēkasan
Kasamata ya śakti kapwa ya masō;
masō ta ikanan kapindra sumahab;
mahōm ya paḍa mahyun oliha liman.

Destroyed were those who were attacked by them repeatedly.
Now that their power had been approved they went forward,
they advanced, those monkey-chiefs, in dense crowds;
in a mass, all of them wished to turn back the elephants.

Manāmbutakēn ugra-daṇḍa ya sakol,
mananāhara parēñ ya kapwa mamalu,
manambiriñ-akēn śilā-tala waneh,
manāmpuhi gunuñ ikan wray umibēr.

They gripped mighty cudgels, a whole fathom [long],
with a concentrated effort they all struck;
others again flung flattened stones,
they hurled mountains and monkeys came flying [to them].

Kānci-yamakas

XIX.114

XIX.115

Vṛnta- or Vyapeta-
yamakas

116

Anuñ wray atisakti yékana manek,
 anuñgani paññadēg ri walakañ,
 anuñkak atisahasāndédēl igā,
 anuñgali hanāndédēl hulu gulū.

117

Those strong monkeys then climbed up,
 they mounted, all standing on [the elephant's] backs,
 others followed on their heels, violently kicking their ribs,
 they separated them and kicked their heads and throats.

* * * * *

Waneh hana wineh lumāha makakañ,
 wēhainya kalawan gulūnya tinēhak,
 dinuk ya dinugan dadanya dinédēl,
 sukunya pinulir pēgat ta ya kapāt.

121

Some there were who let themselves fall backward and lay on their backs,
 their jawbones as well as their throats were cut ;
 their breasts were thrust at, they were struck ; they were all kicked ;
 their legs were twisted and broken, all four of them.

Pādādi-yamaka ?

Lawan hana sebit silitnya dinēkun⁵³ ;
 wawan kasuluyun tibā kasidēkun ;
 gulūnya kapēluk awaknya mukukun ;
 gañūnya n aputih tikēl kadi bakun.

122

They tore open their recta. ; they pommelled them with their knees ;
 soon [the elephants] tottered and sank on their knees ;
 they grasped their throats, bent their bodies down ;
 and their white tusks broke like fly-*Ishtakal*.

Puṣpa-yamaka

[Situation : Loveliness of Mount Suwela]

M ẽṇḍur m ẽṇḍuh paḍa-paḍa manẽḍẽṇ,
mañkã⁵⁴ mandẽl bhamara kajẽṇẽkan ;
mañkin m ẽṇẽñ Raghur-suta kabharan.
mañde śoka ñ bhamara-wilasita.⁵⁵

Venta- or Vyapeta-
yamaka

XVI.36

The camellias bend down, all in full bloom,
so the bees become quiet and rejoice.
Rāma grew more and more anguished and oppressed ;
the " restless bees " caused despondency.

It must be admitted that these minor slips of copyists are not of much importance for a better understanding of the text, but in comparison with the restricted quantity of lines which admit of any such control their number is not insignificant. *As a consequence we no longer can feel so sure about this text and its having been handed down to us accurate in detail, not to mention the other suspicions, dealt with in my two books.*

Rules of Assonance. Of more importance than the exceptional mistakes made in yamakas are the general rules to be derived from them. It would be too sweeping a statement to say that from the assonances we can derive proof for the pronunciation of OJ words, but it would be deplorable not to profit from the suggestions they contain.

It is evident that in OJ assonance the poet continues the use of his favourite consonant or combination of consonants as long as possible. When this occurs in the same verse, it is not certain whether this is intentional or a mere accident.

From yamakas rather cogent evidence can be obtained. When the three lines of a stanza give yamaka-repetitions, and the fourth line has the variant d/r, it may be assumed that this is intentional, not a mistake or a weakness, but acceptable to the poet and acknowledged by his public and students.

The genuineness of the assonances and yamakas especially in the OJR has been suspected. Though I have tried to prove that this doubt itself is not above question, in the following deductions I have taken my material in the following order :

- (c) yamakas, (d) assonance from stanzas hitherto unsuspected by anybody ;
 (e) yamakas, (f) assonance from stanzas suspected by an author on the OJR.

1. Assonance in the strict sense of the word is a question of consonants only (but in quite a number of cases one gets the impression that vowels also play their modest role).
2. One must reckon with whole verses (just as they are written together in the MSS.), and not with separate words (as we are in the habit of doing, especially in transliterations).
ganññ maganññ ñ gagana (XXIV.106b).
mauauñ maua ñ uñali . . . (XXIV.100d).
Tā māññ tāmasā-sakita tama sahana ni . . . (XXIV.125d).
3. *Kunañ* = but, however ; *kunañ-kunañ* = firefly (VII.12) ; this and several other words can only be used in reduplicated form.
4. Several others, e.g. *aññ-aññ*, thought, use exceptionally a derived form *maññ* (VIII.195), but as a rule the reduplicated forms only are met.
5. Others again, e.g. *warah*, communication, appear to be used reduplicated as well as otherwise.
6. Reduplications may be incomplete: *warah* → *vara-warah* (passim) ; *cikī-cikil* (XXI.198b) ; *cañka-cañhake* (XXI.198d).
7. The assonance effected in incomplete reduplication may be exactly the same as that between two otherwise unrelated words: *lara larad* (XXV.4d ; XXVI.10c, 15c). Hence Aichele's objection to this form of assonance (FBG I, 1929, p. 18) to me is not convincing.
8. Prenasalisation appears to be negligible.
 (a) *m* : *sipi simpir sapphala* (IX.18a) ; *kapi makampil akampiya* (XXIV.252d) ; *tambin katambin tēbēñ kahambēñ* (VI. 138c).

- (b) *n* : *kaṣaṇḍaṇ sālēṇ* (IX.54d) ; *gaḍḍaṇ sonḍuṇ-onḍuṇ umēṇḍuṇ katunḍuṇ* (IX.54a) ; *puḍaṇam/yḍpuṇḍaṇam*
adeṇ (XXIV.109c).
 (c) *n* : *kānta katiba* (XVI.17c) , *lanta vēṭis* (XXV.79a).
 (d) *ṇ* : *Sarabhaṇga bhoga* (XXV.8a).
 (e) *ṇ* : *kañciṭ kaculamik* (XXIV.108a).

9. Nasals seem assonant :

mēṇḍur mēṇḍuḥ ..., (b) *maṇikā mandēḷ*, (c) *maṇikēṇ*, (d) *maṇde* ... (XIX.116a) ; *maṇāmbatākēṇ*, (b) *maṇābhara*,
 (c) *maṇāmbaṇvāṇakēṇ*, (d) *maṇāṇḍupāṇi*, *jāṇḍaṇ jāmbat* (XXV.98a) ; *hāṇḍaṇ hāṇḍaṇ* (XXV.98a).

10. k and g may be assonant with one another at the end (a) as well as in the middle (b) or at the beginning (c) of a word :

(a) *warak* ... *warēḡ ramuruk riṭaṇ rvi* (II.26d) ; *tar warēḡ arēḷki* (XII.30b) ; *paṇāmbēḡ katambak* (XII.57d) ;
pēpēḷ opēḷ āpēga maṇahḷu riṇ ṇ umah (VIII.159).

(b) *tātampatāṇḡva* ... *ya paṭyaṇaṇikva* (II.41d) ; *sāk sāgara* (XV.33a) ; *kaṇalaka/kaṇalagi* (XVI.44c/d) ;
ḍinuk ya ḍinagaṇ (XIX.121c).

(c) *tatkalāṇ glāna kolā*° (XV.32a).

11. t and ṭ seem assonant in *katalkatṇya* si *Tātakāḷyā* (II.27a).

12. d and (d)ḍha are assonances :

asṇ-asṇa ta sālhyāṇ/dadya taṇ dadya madvā (VI.59d) ; *Bharadvāja* ... *dhavja* (XXV.12a) ; *sāḷhaka*
siddha/sādha (XXV.49ab).

13. n and ṇ are assonances :

maṇibēṇ maṇi (XVI.16c) ; *ṭiḷṣṇa ya/ṇaya* (XVI.27d/28a) ; *lāvaṇ kiṭa magōṇ guṇanta gaṇṭaṇ tatan hēṇṭya ya*
 (III.46a).

14. p and ph seem assonant in : *sipir simpir sapḷala* (IX.18a).

15. b and bh seem assonant in : *baṣama bhāṣaṇa* (III.34bc) ; *brata bāyṇ bhakṣa* (XXV.30b).

16. p and b seem assonant in : *lakibi lampipiṇ taṇ sipi* (XXV.56a).

17. b and bh are assonant to w : *baka/wiku* (XXIII.22b/c) ; *kabeh/kaweni* (XVI.24a/b) ; *wruh ta n uruk n auri wole bris* (XXIV.123a) ; *wiku bhikṣuka* (XXV.23a).
18. y and w are assonant : *dadya tan dadya madwā* (VI.159) ; *sosyan pasusuan* (XXIV.108b) ; *satwa satya* (XXV.16c).
19. r and d are assonant : *ratu/n/latu* (III.13c) ; *paḍa paṇḍitāsīn aparō ri sira* (XXV.16b).
20. r and d are assonant in : *ron . . . don* (XXV.93c).
21. r and l are assonant : *lusa/rusa* (XXIII.21d) ; *Saragū/salayū* (XXIV.216a).
22. s and ś are assonant : *sabhā . . . śobha* (II.54) ; *pisani panas in pāsa palasat* (III.81b) ; *pusatā masō sañ anapnas kapaśum* (XXV.32a).
23. s and ṣ are assonant : *nīroṣadha/sadharma* (XVI.27a/b) ; *rāk.saka/sakā* (XXIV.81/2) ; *puṣpāpēpēs* (IX.53c).
24. ṣ and ś are assonant : *wiṣa/wiśā* (XXIV.83b/c) ; *śiṣya śēsi* (XXV.25c).
25. For the purpose of assonance the grammatical infix -in- (used after the first consonant of a verbal root (perhaps because of its still being a living part of language) may not be heard and can be overlooked : *piṇḍan pinanḍēm* (XXI.197a) ; *akwān kināṇkwen* (III.21c) ; *pinatēh patih* (XIV.19) ; *awurahan/winarahan* (XVI.38c/d).
26. Apparently by extension can also be found : *wināni-wāni* (VIII.61a) ; *dāndāsā . . . Daśāsya* (XXI.198c) ; *Dhūmra/dumwira* (XXIV.247c).
27. The grammatical infix -um- (id. id.) : *agāḍēn gamāḍēn* (VI.137d) ; *akēḍēm kamēḍēm* (VI.138b) ; *lanunpat anānūpātakēn* (V.42d) ; *tumuran matāka mātērū hanēn lēnah* (VIII.159).
28. Perhaps assonance is even meant in : *kaśala . . . sala . . . sakala* (XXVI.1b).
29. *Puḍānan maḍānhan* (XXV.19a) omits the h.
30. I feel sure that whoever approaches the OJR. and especially its yamakas, in the possession of these deductions, and pays special attention to this subject, will find more examples.

FINAL REMARKS AND SUMMING UP

Yamaka as a *word* is unknown to the dictionaries of VAN DER TUUK and JUYNBOLL, not to be found in GONDA's "Sanskrit in Indonesia" nor in any of the special glossaries, for the simple reason that only treatises on metrics *sq*

far have been found (*Wṛttasācāya*, *Wṛttāyana*) in OJ, but no handbooks on poetics. The word has been borrowed from the Skr and been used roughly in the same sense in which it is used by DAṆḌIN in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* and by commentators on the BhK, which was the prototype of the OJR. The yamakas to be found in the OJR differ in two respects from the definition given in MONIER WILLIAMS' Dictionary: "The repetition in the same stanza of words or syllables similar in sound, but different in meaning," for reduplications as well as repetitions were involved (contrary to Indian standards, but obviously no crime in the eyes of the Javanese poet).

Modern Indian practice is inclined to use the term more loosely to cover cases where Yamaka is found in only one of the four lines of a stanza, but to use it loosely here would have been an anachronism not in accord with BHARṬI and DAṆḌIN. The yamakas presented by BHARṬI were perfect, without exception, but DAṆḌIN in his wealth of examples included some where only three lines co-operated, even some with only two "active" lines. Generally I have included those with three "active" lines when I felt that in the context a yamaka was meant—but not those with only two "active" lines. Even then the considerable number of 240 yamakas could be traced.

I am inclined to believe that up to now neither the number of yamakas in the OJR was fully realized nor the fact that they are to be found all over the poem, and think that this must be ascribed to silent reading as well as to the peculiarities of the Javanese script. But in future it will no longer be possible to delete a passage mainly because it is rich in yamakas and assonances, for then too many passages essential to the epic narrative and paralleled by the contents of the BhK would have to be abolished: unless one consider them not as mere interpolations but as recasts—a viewpoint leading us here too far from our subject.

The OJR borrowed seven types of yamaka from the BhK and developed some three more types which we find in DAṆḌIN, the poet and theorist who was *the* great specialist in this field. The stanzas written in these ten different types of yamaka permit us to make emendations to the text of the OJR, which appears to have suffered from old clerical mistakes to be found in all our copies. The rigidity of the full-flown yamaka, moreover, permits us to obtain an impression of what in OJ was appreciated as "rhyme" and must have made an agreeable assonance.

Quite recently "*Prasasti Indonesia II*", by Dr. J. G. de Casparis, reached Europe.⁵⁶ His XIth inscription proves to be the oldest known OJ poem. It abounds in yamakas. This fact is of considerable importance and deserves close attention.

Distribution of 240 yamakas in the OJR; their type.

() : not all 4 pādas contain a yamaka.

? : an unmistakable yamaka, but different from the Indian types

	Kāñci/Sandaṣṭa(ka)	Pādādi (orthodox type)	Pādādyanta	Pādanadhiya	Puṣpa/Samastapāda	Other combination		Kāñci/Sandaṣṭa(ka)	Pādādi (orthodox type)	Pādādyanta	Pādanadhiya	Puṣpa/Samastapāda	Vṛnta/Vyapeta	Other combination		Kāñci/Sandaṣṭa(ka)	Pādādi (orthodox type)	Pādādyanta	Pādanadhiya	Puṣpa/Samastapāda	Vṛnta/Vyapeta	Other combination
II.	(15)	+	+				XV.	(29)	+						XVII.	128	+	+				
	19	+						(30)						?		129		(+)				
	(41)		+	+				31	+							130		+				
	(54) (+)		+					32	+							131		+				
III.	6/7		+					(33)	+						XIX.	35	+					
	38		+					52	(+)	+						36	+					
IV.	70					?		53	+	+						37	+					
(V.	60)	+		+				54		+						38	+					
VI.	59			+				55		+						85			+			
	137			+			XVI.	15				+				114	+					
	138			+				(16)		+						115	+					
	102			+				(17)		+						116						
	172			+				18	(+)	+						117						
	(196)	+	+					24	+							(121)	+					
	197	+	+					25	+							122			+			
VII.	12			+				26	+							XXI.	5	+				
	61			+				27	+							197		+				
VIII.	61				pādānta			28	+							198	(+)	+				
	155	+	+	+				29	+							213	+	+				
XII.	38			+				30			+					(214)	+					
	40					?		(31)	(+)													
	45			+				32				+				XXIII.	(19)	+				
	48			+				35			+					20	+					
	49					?		36			+	+				21	+					
	50	+						37			+					22	+					
	52			+				38			+					XXIV.	37	+				
	53			+				39			+					81	+					
	54			+				40			+					82	+					
XIV.	19			+				44						D III. 30		83	+					
	(20)			+			XVII.	(50)	(+)							84	+					
	21				pādānta			55	+							85	+					
	36			+				(58)						D. III. 5?		86	+					
XV.	20			+				67/8		+				D III. 4		97		+				
	21			+				71		+				D III. 5		98		+				
	22			+				72						?		99		+				
	23			+	pādānta			(85)		(+)						100		+				
	24			+				(86)		+						101		+				
	25			+				(102)		+						102		+				
	26			+				113				+				103		+				
	(27)			+				126		+			+			104		+				
	28			+	pādānta			127		+						106		+				

	Kānci/Sandaṣṭa(ka) Pādādi (orthodox type) Pādamadhya Puṣpa/Samastapāda Other combination		Kānci/Sandaṣṭa(ka) Pādādi (orthodox type) Pādamadhya Puṣpa/Samastapāda Other combination		Kānci/Sandaṣṭa(ka) Pādādi (orthodox type) Pādamadhya Puṣpa/Samastapāda Vṛta/Vyapeta Other combination
XXIV. 108	+	XXV. 33	+	XXV. 80 (+)	+
109	+	34	+	81	+
110	+	35	+	(82)	+
111	+	(36)	+	83	+
112	+	37	+	84	+
113	+	38	+	86	+
114	+	39	+	87	+
(115)	+	40	+	88	+
116	+	42	+	89	+
117	+	43	+	90	N.B. ?
118	+	44	+	(91)	+
119	+	45	+	(95)	+
120	+	46	+	98	+
121	+	47	+	99	+
122	+	48	+	100	+
123	+	49 (+)	+	101	+
XXV. 4	+	50	pādānta	102	+
5	+	51	+	103	+
7	+	52 (+)	+	106	+
8	+	53	+	108	+
9	+	(54) (+)	+	109	D. III 3
10	+	55	+	110	+
11	+	57	+	111	+
(13)	+	58	+	112	+
14	+	61	+	113	+
15	+	62	+	114	?
16 (+)	+	63	+	115	+
17 (+)	+	64	+	117	+
18	+	65	+	XXVI. 10	+
19	+	66	+	11	+
21	+	68	+	(13)	+
22	+	69	+	14	+
24	+	71	+	15	+
25	+	73	+	(18)	+
26	+	74	+	20	?
27	?	75	+	43	+
28	?	76	+	45	+
29	+	77	+	46	+
31	+	78	+	48	+
32	+	79	+		

²¹ Cp. my paper in BKI 114, 1958, to appear shortly.

²² Cp. again another paper in BKI, to appear after the preceding one.

²³ Kern in text-edition, p. VI; Poerbatjaraka in TBG.72 (1932), p. 200; Juynboll in BKI.94 (1936), pp. 434-6; Walther Aichele in "Grundsätzliches zur Kawi-Interpretation" in "Feestbundel . . . Kon.Bat.Gen.v.K.&W." (FBG), 1778-1928, Kolff, Weltevreden, 1929, I, pp. 14-5.

²⁴ Poerbatjaraka in TBG.72 (1932), p. 200; Juynboll in BKI.94 (1936), p. 421.

²⁵ In "Form der Kawi-Dichtung", OLZ.29 (1926), pp. 933-9; "De Vorm der Kawi-Poezie", in Djawa 11, 1931, pp. 174-180; again in FBG.I, p. 17.

²⁶ Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya in his paper "The Śabdālankāra Yamaka in the Rāmāyaṇa", JOI Baroda 1.2 (1951), p. 135 and note 17.

²⁷ Sanskrit Text and English Translation by S. K. Belvalkar; Skr.T. & German Transl. by O. Boehtlingk.

²⁸ *Antidesma bunias* Sprg.

²⁹ *Mangga* (mango = *Mangga indica* L.).

³⁰ *Mangga odorata* Griff.

³¹ A kind of yellow ("sulphur") banana.

³² *Baccaurea pubera* Muell. Arg.

³³ *Mallotus caesia* Jack or *M. foetida* Lour.

³⁴ *Phyllanthus emblica* L.

³⁵ *Zizyphus jujuba*.

³⁶ *Zingiber zerumbet* Rose.

³⁷ *Citrus acida* Roxb. (= *C. medica* L.).

³⁸ *Tamarindus indica* L.

³⁹ *Chrysophyllum dioicum* K. et V.

⁴⁰ *Artocarpus Blumei* Trecul.

⁴¹ *Bischofia javanica* Bl. (Euphorbiaceae).

⁴² "Love in Lēnkā." BKI 113, 1957, pp. 274-89.

⁴³ His emendation *ri kāla* seems inadvisable m.c. so that I prefer to maintain *i kāla*.

⁴⁴ Text: *sira*.

⁴⁵ m.c. pro *pārijāta*.

⁴⁶ Text: *paranti*.

⁴⁷ Text: *wara wana*.

⁴⁸ Text: *devi*.

⁴⁹ "Altjavanische Beiträge zur Geschichte des Wuschbaumes" in "Festschrift Meinhof", pp. 461-476, translated as Oudjavaansche Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van den Wenschboom, in Djawa 8 (1928), p. 36, n. 39.

⁵⁰ TBG.72, 1932, pp. 199-200.

⁵¹ "The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, an exemplary kakawin as to form and contents." Verh. Kon. Ned. Ak. v. Wet., Afd. Lett., N.R. Deel LXV, No. 1, Amsterdam 1958.

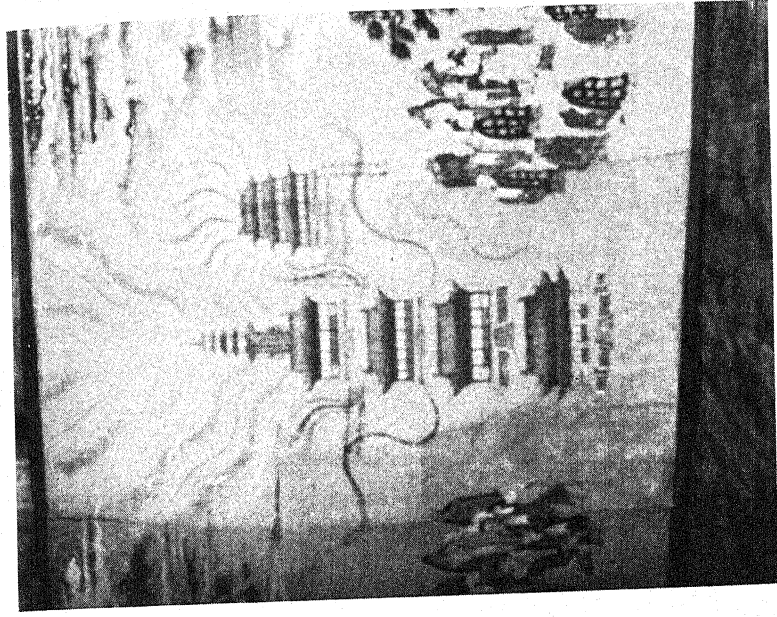
⁵² Text: *giṇanita*. Or would *garanana* have been meant?

⁵³ Text: *dinuwēl*.

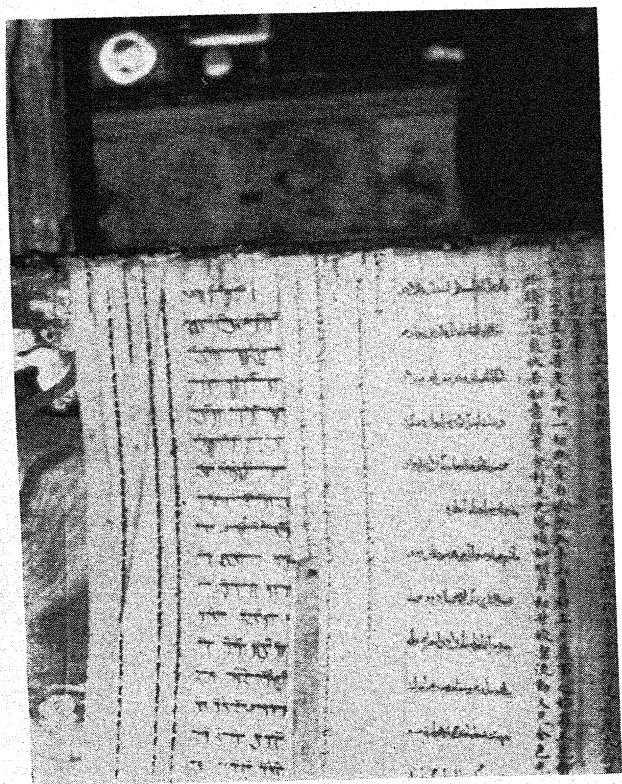
⁵⁴ Text: *nkā tan*.

⁵⁵ The name of the metre used, cp. note 17.

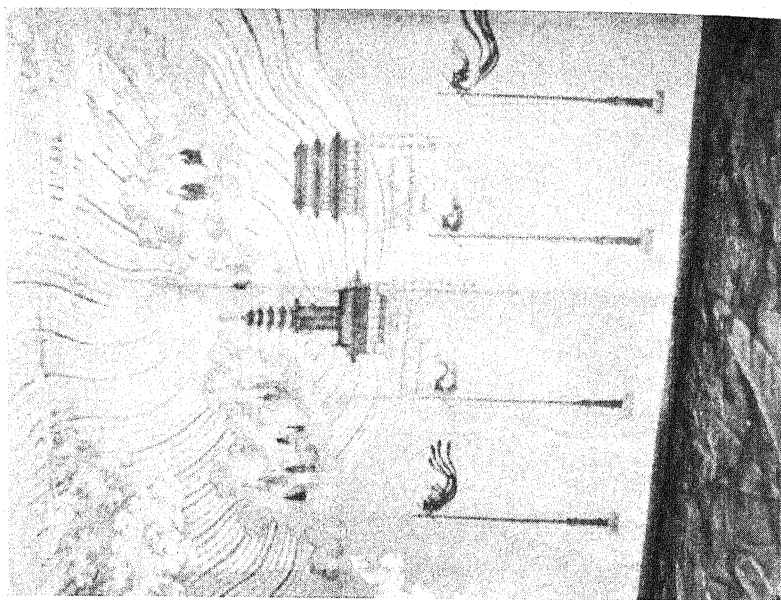
⁵⁶ Diterbitkan oleh Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956.



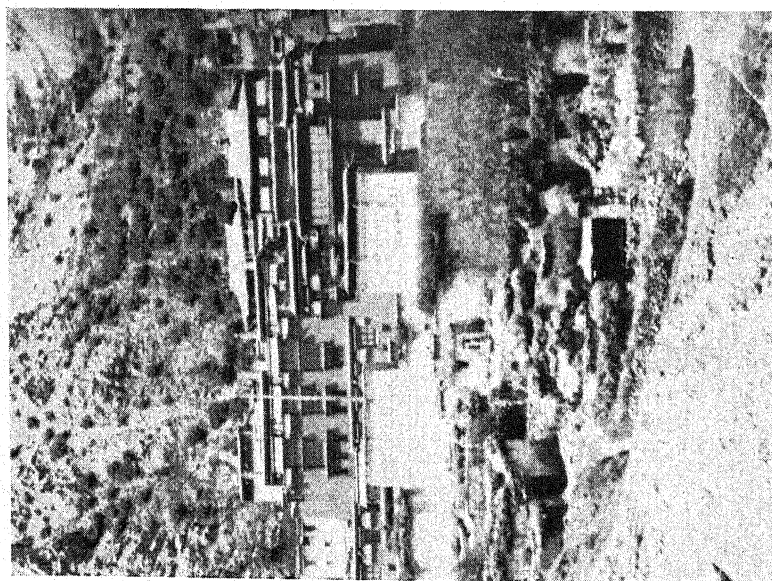
SCROLL, MTSHUR-PHU



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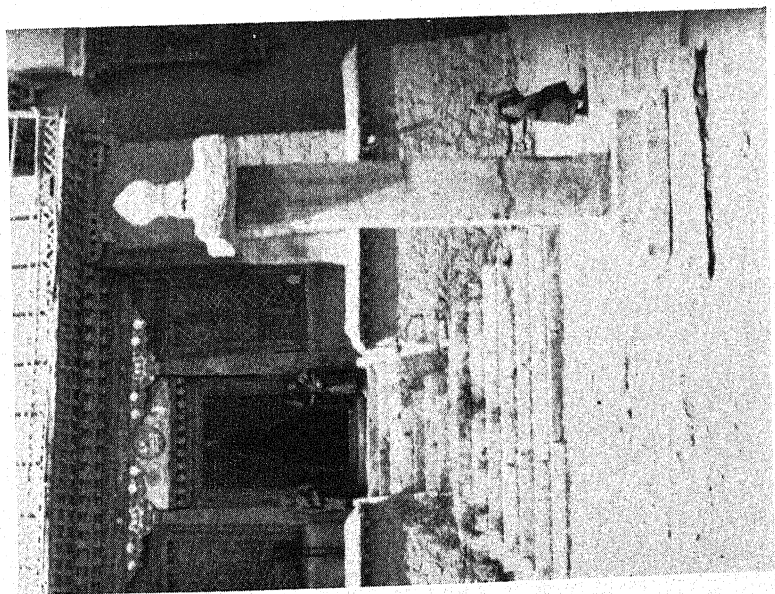
FROM THE GREAT SCROLL, M'TSHUR-PHU



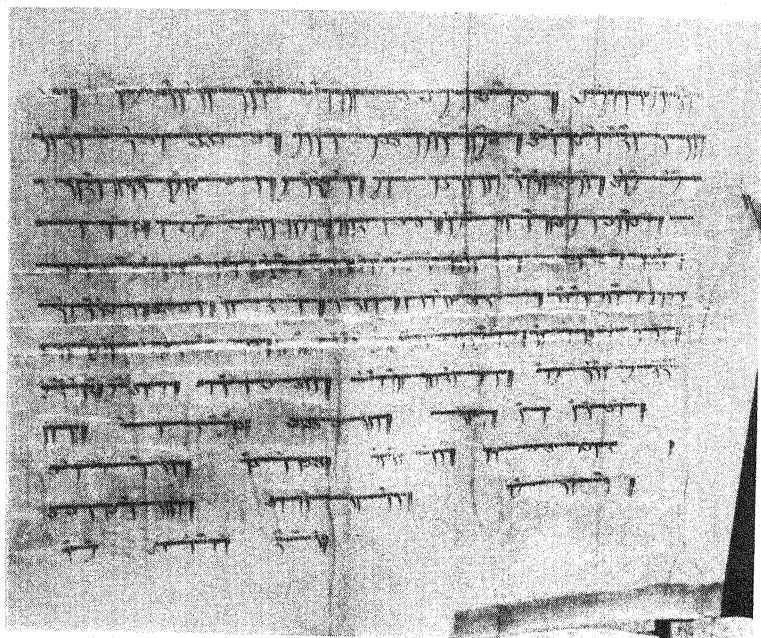
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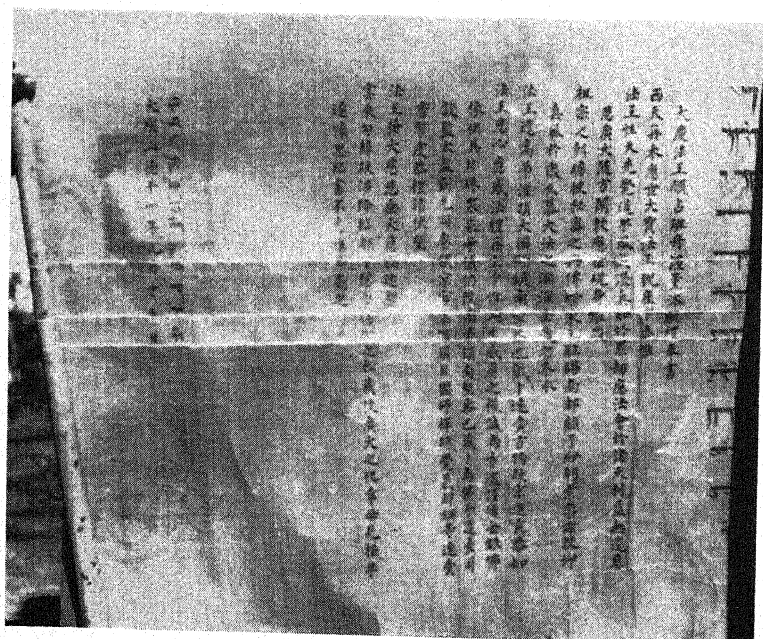
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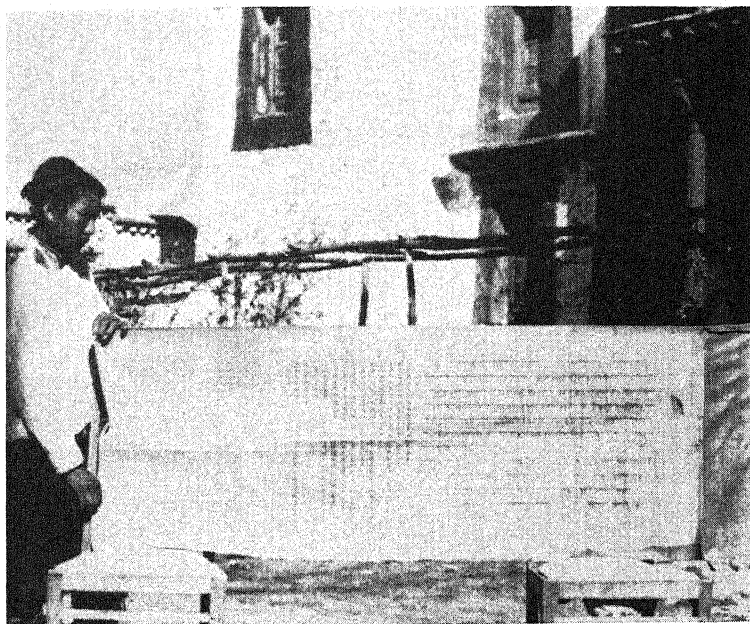
9TH CENTURY INSCRIBED PILLAR, M'TSHUR-PHU



Tibetan Text
LETTER FROM WU TSUNG TO THE XTH ZVA-NAG-PA



Chinese Text



LETTER FROM WU TSUNG TO THE XTH ŽVA-NAG-PA

THE KARMA-PA SECT. A HISTORICAL NOTE

By H. E. RICHARDSON

PART I with PLATES VII-XI

THE KARMA-PA sect, an important offshoot of the bKa'-rgyud-pa, derives from dPal Chos-gyi-grags-pa, generally known as Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, who was born in A.D. 1110 at Dre-sod in East Tibet. He was, by some accounts, the first Lama¹ to originate a continuous line of reincarnations lasting to the present day—a claim which is contested by the Lamas of 'Bri-khuñ. At the age of 30 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa became the principal disciple of sGam-po-pa, himself the chief disciple of rJe-btsun Mid-la (Mi-la-ras-pa), and so entered the direct doctrinal succession from Mar-pa, the founder of the bKa'-rgyud-pa sect. A pious explanation of the name Karma-pa is that an assembly of gods (*lha*) and Dakini bestowed on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, in his sixteenth year, knowledge of the past, present, and future—together with a magical black mitre woven from the hair of a million *mKha'-'gro-ma* (angels or fairies). That story is found in vol *Pa* of the *Chos-'byuñ* of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag; but however early the name Karma-pa came into existence its perpetuation was probably due to the association of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa with the monastery of Karma gDan-sa, or Lho Karma'i sGar, which he founded in 1147 to the east of the Ñom-chu, somewhere between Ri-bo-che and sDe-dge. A few years before his death in 1193 he returned to Central Tibet and in 1189 he founded mTshur-phu in the sTod-luñ valley some 50 miles west of Lhasa. This became the principal monastery of the sect and the home of its chief incarnate Lama, who is known as the rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa or the Žva-nag-pa.

In the main courtyard of mTshur-phu monastery there is an inscribed stone pillar recording the establishment during the reign of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can, A.D. 815-841) of the "*gtsug-lag-khañ* of lCañ-bu as a dependency of the great *gtsug-lag-khañ* of 'On-cañ-rdo". The inscription has been edited by me in *JRASB.*, 1949, and by Professor G. Tucci in *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*, Rome, 1950. In my article I suggested that the pillar might have come from an older religious foundation on or near the site of mTshur-phu monastery; but on two visits I could find no trace in that neighbourhood of a place called lCañ-bu or of any ancient

¹ bLa ma. I use the popular spelling "Lama" throughout.

remains. The name appears several times in the Tun Huang Annals (*Documents de Touen Houang*, Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, Paris, 1940): "Ñen kar lcañ bu," p. 18; "sTod gyi lcañ bu," pp. 57, 58; "Byar gyi lcañ bu," pp. 58, 59, 60. At first sight the case for sTod gyi lcañ bu looks attractive because mTshur-phu is in the sTod-luñ valley. But "sTod"—"the upper country, the upper part of a valley"—is a place-name of quite wide application. Moreover, all the references to lCañ-bu in the Tun Huang Annals are to a place of winter residence. That does not accord well with the sTod-luñ valley, which is cold in winter. Of the other places mentioned, Ñen-kar seems to be not far from Brag-mar; and Byar, according to Professor Tucci (*Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, Rome, 1956, p. 82), is east of Yar-lha-sam-po and north of Lho-kha. The name Byar, Byar-mo, dByar-mo, appears also in East Tibet, where Professor Thomas connects it with the Pailan people (*Nam*, F. W. Thomas, O.U.P., 1946, pp. 34, 35); but that identification does not seem relevant here. The valleys south of the gTsañ-po in the Yar-luñ and Lho-kha areas would generally provide much better winter quarters than sTod-luñ; and, to narrow the choice more closely, attention may be directed to the proximity of Ñen-kar to the Yar-luñ valley, the royal burial ground at 'Phyön-rgyas, and the castle of Phyiñ-ba'i-stag-rtse (*Tun Huang Annals*, pp. 34, 35; Tucci, *Tombs*, pp. 30, 31). In the *bLon-po bKa'-than* (f. 9) the neighbourhood of "Yar-luñs and Phyi-luñs" ("Phyiñ-luñs" in the *Tun Huang Annals*, p. 154) is ascribed to the gÑags and Tshes-poñ (Tshes-poñ) families. A member of the Tshes-poñ family was responsible for the erection of the inscribed pillar now at mTshur-phu and it seems not unreasonable to locate lCañ-bu of that inscription in the Tshes-poñ country round about Yar-luñ and to suppose that the 8 ft. stone pillar was removed from there to mTshur-phu—a troublesome task for porters but quite feasible.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that other possibilities remain open. lCañ-bu seems to have been a common name perhaps signifying a place where willows (*lcañ-ma*) grew (cf. the name lCañ-lo; lCañ-lo-can, which is fairly widespread at the present time). There may formerly have been a lCañ-bu in sTod-luñ of which the name has now vanished; or it may be, as was related to me by the *Phyag-mdzod* (Treasurer) of mTshur-phu, that the pillar was brought all the way from East Tibet by one of the early Lamas. This information was offered without great conviction and no literary evidence could

be produced to support it. The monks of mTshur-phu seem to take little interest in the pillar nowadays nor could I find mention of it in any of the three accounts of the Karma-pa sect which I have followed in writing this article, viz. the *Deb-ther-shon-po* of 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal (1478); the *Chos-'byun* of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-'phreñ-ba, himself a Karma-pa Lama (1564); and a short *rNam-thar* of the rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa Lamas¹ down to the XIVth Incarnation, who was born in 1797. (Hereafter I shall refer to these sources as *DT*, *PT*, and *NT* respectively.) These works all draw on original records at mTshur-phu and a detailed study of those records might discover confirmation of the *Phyag-mdzod*'s story, but I am inclined to see in it no more than a vague echo of the close connection between mTshur-phu and East Tibet which began with Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and continues to this day—most of the sixteen Žva-nag Incarnations, including the present one, having been born in East Tibet. If it is necessary to speculate who might have moved the pillar from Yar-luñs to mTshur-phu, the second incarnation, Karma Pakši (1206–1283), to whom the *rNam-thar* attributes descent from the Kings of Tibet, appears a probable person to have brought that royal relic to the monastery which, by tradition, he did much to adorn.

In addition to the original line of Žva-nag—Black Hat—Karma-pa Lamas there came into being at an early date a second branch known as the Žva-dmar or Red Hat. Its first Lama, Grags-pa-señ-ge, was contemporary with the third Žva-nag incarnation, Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje. Some accounts, e.g. that of Kloñ-rdol Lama, mentioned by Professor Tucci on p. 682 of his monumental and invaluable work *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, assign a more extended spiritual lineage to both the Black and Red Hat Lamas, the former going back through Po-to-pa to five earlier incarnations and the latter, through four incarnations, to Ti-lo-pa; but when numbering the incarnate Lamas of the two lines the Karma-pas themselves invariably begin with Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and Grags-pa-señ-ge respectively. At first the Red Hat Lamas were closely connected with the monasteries of Lha-luñ, in Lho-brag, and gNas-nañ, near mTshur-phu, but later, in 1489, the monastery of Yañs-pa-can, about 20 miles north of mTshur-phu, was founded and became their chief seat. The line of Žva-dmar-pa incarnations was officially terminated in 1792 as will

¹ *Chos rje Karma pa sku 'phreñ rim khyon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus khri śiñ.*

be recounted in the proper place, because of the part taken by the ninth Lama in the Nepalese invasion of Tibet.

There are also many lesser incarnate Lamas of the Karma-pa sect, such as the rGyal-tshab Sprul-sku of mTshur-phu, the Karma Si-tu Rin-po-che of dPal-spun in sDe-dge, and the dPa'-bo bLa-ma. The last-named line included, as its second incarnation, the historian gTsug-lag-'phren-ba (1503-1566); its seat was formerly at Lha-luñ, in Lho-brag, which had been founded by Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa in 1154 on what appears to have been the site of an older chapel, but this monastery was taken from the Karma-pa by the fifth Dalai Lama and the present dPa'-bo bLa-ma lives at gNas-nañ, near mTshur-phu.

It is not my intention to attempt here a comprehensive history of the Karma-pa sect and all its branches but rather to examine some incidents in the relations of its principal Lamas, especially the Žva-nag-pa, with Mongolia and China. The connection began with the second Žva-nag-pa, Karma Pakśi, who is, after Padma Sambhava, probably the most famous miracle-worker in Tibetan religious history and is known by the epithet "*Grub Chen*".

Association between the Tibetan church and the Mongols was established by the Sa-skya-pa sect in 1244 when the Sa-skya Pan-chen, taking with him his nephews 'Phags-pa, aged about 10, and Phrag-na, aged about 6, accepted the invitation—or obeyed the command—to visit Godan Khan, governor of the Kansu region, and was shortly afterwards appointed by Godan as the Mongols' vice-regent in Tibet. At that time supreme authority in the Mongol dominions was nominally held by Godan's mother, who acted as regent during the long rivalry for the office of Khakan which followed the death in 1241 of her husband Ogotai, the third son of Genghiz Khan. The vacancy was filled in 1246 by the election of Godan's elder brother, Ogotai's first son, Kuyuk; but he died in 1248 and the struggle for power among the grandsons of Genghiz began all over again. It ended in 1252 when Mongka (Mangu), the eldest son of Genghiz's fourth son, Tului, was chosen as Khakan and thus ousted from the succession the line of Ogotai which had patronized the Sa-skya Lamas. In 1251, shortly before this dynastic change, the Sa-skya Pan-chen had died; and in 1253 his nephew 'Phags-pa, making a politic transference of loyalty to the new ruling family, was received by Mongka's youngest brother, Kubilai Khan, who was then governor of the territories conquered by the Mongols

on the north and east borders of the Sung Empire. Continuance of Sa-skyapa influence was thus ensured; but other sects also had attracted the notice of the Mongols, whose generals had been conducting occasional raids into Tibet, and in 1255 Kubilai sent for Karma Pakśi, who was then at mTshur-phu. The Lama, then in his fiftieth year, obeyed the summons and joined Kubilai at Roñ-yul gSer-stod, which is perhaps somewhere in the neighbourhood of Tachienlu. Sa-skyapa tradition shows that Karma Pakśi was a serious rival to 'Phags-pa, who had to prove himself an equally good miracle-worker (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 627); but the position of the newcomer cannot have been easy and Karma Pakśi declined a request by Kubilai that he should stay permanently at his court. He set out northwards on a journey in the course of which he founded 'Phrul-snañ-sprul-pa'i Lha-khañ, on the Hor Mi-ñag border, and visited Ling-Chow (or perhaps Liang Chow), where he met with some Zin-sin (Hsien-seng: Taoists), whom he confounded by his magical powers, and Kan Chow, where people from China, Hor, Sog, and Mi-ñag flocked to see him. In 1256 he decided to return to Tibet but, on being summoned by the Khakan Mongka, he went to the Great Palace of Zi-ra 'Ur-rdo in 'On-ge'i Yul, i.e. Sira Ordo, on the Ongin, not far south of Mongka's headquarters at Karakorum. There he won the favour of the Khakan and became his personal chaplain. Karma-pa records also say that he took part in a debate there with Taoists and other religious sects. His arrival at Mongka's court was long after the departure, in 1254, of the Franciscan missionary William of Rubruck, who had triumphed over Buddhists and others in a religious debate organized by Mongka. There was another debate in 1255 in which the Buddhists, led by Fou-yu, abbot of Chao-lin, overcame their Taoist rivals; but from Karma-pa sources it is clear that the occasion on which Karma Pakśi is said to have taken part was in the Dragon year, 1256. According to *Inscriptions et Pièces de Chancellerie Chinoises de l'Epoque Mongole*, E. Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, Series II, vol. 5, p. 381, there was an assembly of Buddhists at Sira Ordo in 1256, but none of the Taoists dared to confront them there. This was taken as a confession of defeat and Mongka issued an edict in favour of the Buddhists. It is perhaps this meeting which has been slightly misrepresented by Karma-pa historians as the occasion of a debating victory by Karma Pakśi. The next debate was in 1258. It took place, under the presidency of Kubilai, at Shang-tu and it appears that 'Phags-pa was present.

It is not possible to trace Karma Pakši among the Buddhist leaders named in the Mongol documents quoted by Chavannes. He cannot be the same as Na-mo for the latter was appointed as Master of the Buddhists in 1252, before Karma Pakši had left Tibet; nor can he be readily identified with the Abbot of Chao-lin (a monastery, according to Chavannes, loc. cit., p. 374, north of Shang-tu). The only other person mentioned in Chavannes' selection is an unnamed monk from Ta-li. Examination of the complete list of persons present at the debates might discover the name of Karma Pakši; there is even a faint possibility that a reference to 'Phags-pa may be a mistake for *Pa ka si pa* because Chavannes notes that the characters used for the name in the record of the debate in 1258 are different from those used elsewhere; but there is no suggestion from Karma-pa sources that Karma Pakši returned to Kubilai's court after joining Mongka until a much later date.

The apparent silence of Mongol documents about Karma Pakši need not be thought to throw doubt on the veracity of Karma-pa historians. It may signify no more than that Karma Pakši's powers, as can clearly be seen from the *rNam-thar* and from dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, were those of a magician rather than a dialectician; but there may also be some possibility that 'Phags-pa was able to suppress references to his rival.

In some Tibetan histories, including Vol. *Ma* of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, it is suggested that Karma Pakši was in Mongolia before 'Phags-pa. This seems to be a misunderstanding due to the fact that Karma Pakši's patron Mongka preceded 'Phags-pa's patron Kubilai as Khakan. The careful chronology in Vol. *Pa* where dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, himself a Karma-pa, gives detailed attention to the history of his sect puts the sequence of events beyond serious doubt. Although 'Phags-pa preceded Karma Pakši in Tibet, the Karma-pa were the first Tibetan sect to establish influence with a ruling Khan. But their ascendancy was short-lived. Mongka died in 1260 and his death was followed by a bitter struggle, with Kubilai, who had declared himself Khakan, in opposition to his younger brother Ariq Boga, who by Mongol custom had some grounds for claiming to be the legitimate successor. When Kubilai was victorious in 1261 Karma Pakši found himself in difficulties. He had earlier offended Kubilai by refusing to stay at his court and now, whether rightly or wrongly, he was suspected of having sided with Ariq Boga. Moreover it is probable that 'Phags-pa and his followers did what they could to

add to the troubles of their rival. Karma Pakši was persecuted by Kubilai and eventually banished to Ke'u Chu, a hot and unhealthy place "on the shore of the ocean". Some of his disciples were put to death (*DT*, Vol. *Ña*, f. 51). Karma-pa records claim that eventually, by a display of his magic and spiritual powers, Karma Pakši won restoration to favour and converted Kubilai to his own religious views. He left Mongolia about 1264 and took eight years on his journey back to mTshur-phu, where he died in 1283.

The monks of mTshur-phu tell many stories of Karma Pakši's feats in Mongolia—how he could not be confined in any prison or hurt by any torture and how when he was finally loaded with costly presents but had no means of transporting them to Tibet he threw them into a spring near Shang-tu from where, by his magic powers, they soon reappeared in a pool near mTshur-phu. To support this story they point to the discoloured gold roof of one of the temples which, they say, shows the effects of its underground journey from China. Of the same roof, which covers a great image of Sakyamuni made by Karma Pakši, it is also said that it had once belonged to the monastery of Nalanda, whence it had been carried off in a Mongol raid on India.

Karma Pakši's fame as a magician recalls those Lamas who, according to Marco Polo, could make the Khan's cup move from the table to his lips without visible human agency. Karma Pakši could not, of course, have met Marco Polo because he left the Mongol court before Marco's arrival in 1275; but he might have met Nicolo and Maffeo Polo on their earlier visit between 1260 and 1263.

After the rather chequered introduction of the Karma-pas to the Mongol court the next *Žva-nag* Lama, Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje (1284–136), paid a visit to China on an easier footing when he was invited in 1331 by the Emperor Togh Temur. Although by then the Yuan dynasty had sunk into luxury and into that extravagant adulation of Buddhism which so speedily enervated and degraded the Mongol character, the Emperor was still the unquestioned overlord of Tibet and his letter of invitation has the ring of authority. It is addressed as a command ("luñ") to "Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje" without the addition of any honorific titles. The letter is quoted in the *rNam-thar* (ff. 65, 66) and has the appearance of being authentic. In rambling and involved Tibetan (which can be seen in the transcription included in Appendix B) the Emperor writes of the devotion to Buddhism shown by the kings of the North (in Mongolia) and by his ancestor

Se-chen (Kubilai) in China ; and he declares that he, too, desires to be the protector and servant of the faith. Having heard the reputation of the Lama for learning and holiness he has sent his envoy mGon-po and others to conduct him to China. The letter continues, in a rather minatory tone, that if the Lama disregards the command he will be responsible for all manner of harm to the practice of the faith in China and will also displease the Emperor ; but, as it cannot be thought that he could bring himself to cause such a calamity, he will surely come quickly for the benefit of all creatures from the Emperor downwards. If he does so, everything will be done for the faith according to his wishes. To accompany the letter, the Emperor sent a gold seal which had been given by Mongka to Karma Pakši. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje let it be known that he would go to China and he set about rather dilatory and hesitant preparations for the journey. In the following year he received a further letter expressing the Emperor's satisfaction that his command was being obeyed and exhorting the Lama not to delay. In this letter, which also is quoted (NT, f. 67), the Lama is addressed as dGe-ba'i-bśes-gñen—Kalyanamitra.

Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje entered China in 1332 but before he could reach Peking the Emperor died. The new Emperor, Rinchenpal, urged him to continue his journey and he went on to the capital ; but soon after his arrival Rinchenpal, too, died. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje stayed on in Peking and, in the disturbed conditions of intrigue and faction then prevailing, he assisted in the succession and enthronement of the new Emperor, Toghan Temur (PT, Pa, f. 44). In 1334 he left for Tibet after promising to return in two years ; and early in 1336 he received a letter from Toghan Temur reminding him of that promise. This letter also is quoted in the *rNam-thar* (f. 69). Although employing a similar formula to that of Toghan Temur's letter—expressing fears that, if the Lama does not come, much harm will be done to the faith—the tone is less authoritative and the language more respectful. Moreover, the Emperor offered the Lama the same exalted honours and facilities for his journey as those enjoyed by the Ti Śri Chen-po, the Imperial Viceregent for Tibet. Rañ-byuñ-rdo-rje returned to China in 1338 and died there in the same year after a brief further exercise of his mediating and religious authority in the troubled conditions of the decadent Yuan court.

Toghan Temur's devotion to the Karma-pa's continued ; and in 1386 he invited the fourth Žva-nag Lama, Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje

(1340-1383), to visit China. By then Mongol supremacy over Tibet had been reduced to a formality by the vigorous nationalism of Byaṅ-chub-rgyal-mtshan, but the Emperor was still titular overlord. His letter to Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje is still described as a "command"; but the wording shows an increase in politeness and reverence and the Tibetan, an increase in lucidity and elegance (see Appendix B, no. 4). It is therefore rather strange that the Emperor attributes his continued good fortune not to the "Three Jewels" (*dkon-mchog-gsum*), as was done in all the previously mentioned Imperial letters, but to the "protection of everlasting Heaven" (*tshe-rin gnam gyi še-mon*), which seems to be a reversion to the formula of the old Mongol religion. The letter refers to the degeneration of the times and exhorts the Lama, who is addressed as Great Teacher (*blo-dpon chen-po*), not to confine his loving-kindness to Tibet but to lead back to the faith creatures who have erred and strayed from the right path.

Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje went to China in 1359 and stayed there until 1363. At that time the Yuan dynasty was tottering to its fall; and in the last stages of its dissolution Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje seems to have established himself as a revered and influential figure. From the accounts in my three sources (*DT*, *Ña*, ff. 40-5; *NT*, f. 76-99; *PT*, *Pa*, f. 49-59) he was clearly an exceptional visionary and miracle-worker; and he is famed as one of the early teachers of the rJe-Rin-po-che bLo-bzaṅ-grags-pa (Tsoṅ-kha-pa).

On his way back to Tibet Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje received an invitation to visit the "King of Stod Hor" (Mogholistan), the Jagatid Mongol, Toghlag Temur but, not surprisingly, he did not accept for Toghlag Temur had some years earlier been converted to Islam. In 1368, after the change of dynasty in China, the first Ming Emperor, Tai Tsung, sent the envoy Hsu Yun-te with letters inviting the principal Lamas to visit him (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 685; and Li Tieh-tseng, *The Historical Status of Tibet*, 1955, p. 95). Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje was one of the persons invited (*NT*, f. 95). He did not revisit China himself but he sent messengers to the Emperor in 1374 and thereafter at regular intervals until his death.

His successor, De-bžin-gsegs pa (1384-1415), was an even more famous wonder-worker. In 1407, when he was twenty-three, he accepted an invitation to go to China and perform memorial services for the parents of the Emperor Ch'êng Tsu (Yung Lo). The letter is preserved in *PT*, *Pa*, f. 77, and a transcription may be seen in

Appendix B. It makes an interesting contrast with the letters of the Yuan Emperors. If dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's quotation is complete, there is no suggestion of a "command" nor is there any overt claim to authority, but behind the courteous and respectful language there are tentative hints of some sort of superior connection. The Emperor states that before he was established in his high position he had heard of the Lama's fame; and he refers to the peace prevailing in the Kingdom of dBus (*Yul dBus rgyal-khams*). Later he remarks that the former King (his predecessor?) had been careful to maintain the peace of the Kingdom of dBus. For the rest, the letter is made up of polite and complimentary requests to the Lama to confer on the Emperor the benefit of his presence.

The events of the ensuing visit are described at length in a remarkable Imperial decree which was shown to me at mTshur-phu in 1949. It is contained in a silk-backed scroll some 50 feet long by 2½ feet high composed of sections of text beautifully written in five scripts—Chinese, Tibetan, Arabic, Mongol, and Uighur—alternating with panels painted in the meticulously elegant Ming style. The inscriptions record the miracles performed by the Lama on twenty-two different days and the paintings illustrate those occurrences, day by day. On my visit to mTshur-phu I could not attempt to copy more than a few passages of the inscription and, as my special camera was unfortunately damaged on the journey, I was unable to take satisfactory photographs; but the present rGyal-dbañ Karma-pa kindly provided me later with a complete copy of the Tibetan text. It is written in the 'bam yig script and appears to be a translation, passage by passage, of the Chinese original, but there are so many deviations from normal grammar and usage that it can hardly be the work of a Tibetan any more than the above-mentioned letters of the Yuan Emperors appear to be. A Tibetan language school for diplomatic purposes was established at Peking in the seventh year of the Yung Lo era, i.e. about two years after De-bžin gśegs pa's visit to China, but the earlier employment of Chinese or Mongol translators of Tibetan is indicated by the style of the Yuan dynasty letters and, at that period, multilingual inscriptions which included Tibetan were quite common (*Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Yule and Cordier, 1902, pp. 28, 29). Although De-bžin-gśegs-pa's visit and its extraordinary occurrences are well documented in Tibetan and Chinese sources (*NT*, ff. 108–111; *PT*, *Pa*, ff. 77–82; *DT*, *Nā*, ff. 45–7; Ming Shih, trs. Tucci in *TPS.*, p. 682), the Imperial con-

firmation of a series of miracles warrants quotation in full; but some details of the phenomena are rather repetitious and I have, therefore, relegated the translation, together with a transcription, of the Tibetan text to the Appendix.

Tibetan records claim that, among other successes of his visit, De-bžin-gsēgs-pa dissuaded the Emperor from a plan to invade Tibet in order to establish his authority there, as had been done by the Mongols (*NT*, f. 111; *PT*, *Pa*, ff. 82-3). This is of interest in assessing the nature of the relationship between China and Tibet during the Ming dynasty, especially in view of the evidence of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag, who wrote before that relationship had been affected by the imperial designs of the Ch'ing dynasty.

From Nanking, which was at that time still the effective capital of China, De-bžin-gsēgs-pa went to Omei Shan to conduct further requiem services for the Emperor's parents and from there he returned to Tibet, where he died of smallpox at the age of 31. His successor, mThon-ba-lton-lan (1416-1453), was also invited to the Chinese court. He did not go there; but eight times between 1436 and 1450 he sent missions which the Ming Shih describes as "tribute". Representatives of a Lama who made no claim to exercise temporal dominion over Tibet cannot have brought tribute in the strict sense of the word. In fact, the arrangement was a source of profit to the Tibetans and other neighbours of China, who secured disproportionately large return presents from the Emperor and also Chinese goods, especially tea, on favourable terms. So much so that by 1453 these missions had become such a burden that they had to be restricted by imperial decree (Li, *op. cit.*, p. 26). Nevertheless, the nuisance continued and in 1499 an attempt to send a mission twice in one year had to be firmly rejected (Tucci, *TPS*, p. 683); and in 1569 another decree was promulgated limiting the frequency of such missions and the number of their members (Li, *op. cit.*, n. p. 232). By the time of Father Matteo Ricci's stay in China (1578-1610) these "foreign embassies", which Ricci's informants appear to have attributed originally to the vainglory of the Emperor Yung Lo, had become a public scandal and a commercial racket between foreign merchants and the all-powerful court eunuchs (V. Cronin, *The Wise Man from the West*, p. 185).

The seventh Žva-nag Lama, Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho, was born in 1454. There was no contact with the Chinese court in the early years of his life, by which time the

Emperor Ying Tsung (T'ien Shun), in the second part of his interrupted reign, had turned against Buddhism. In 1465 the succession of Hien Tsung (Ch'êng Hwa), a fervent Buddhist, brought an immediate resumption of correspondence and an exchange of presents. The *rNam-thar* records that when "Chin Hwa" died his successor (Hsiao Tsung) sent to ask for the Karma-pa's blessing. This was presumably an act of policy for during the greater part of his reign the new Emperor was disposed to treat Tibetan lamas with disapproving severity. Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho also had correspondence with the Mahapandita of Bodh Gaya, who invited him to visit India. The letter in Sanskrit is said to be reproduced in the original *rnam-thar* at mTshur-phu. Of greater interest is the statement that in about 1465 presents were received from a Mongol king in the direct succession from Genghiz Khan (*NT*, f. 127 b). This must have been Mandaghol Khan, the twenty-seventh successor of Genghiz, who died in 1467. There is little on record about the attitude of the Mongols towards Buddhism in the years immediately following the eviction from China of the lama-ridden relicts of the Yuan dynasty. At that time, Buddhist influences do not seem to have penetrated much beyond the Khans themselves and their family circle and in the bracing air of their homeland the leaders probably returned to their ancestral shamanism; but the overture from Mandaghol shows that the connection with Tibet was not entirely severed. For all that, it cannot have been seen at its true value as a political weapon and there is no hint that Dayan Khan, Mandaghol's successor who restored much of the lost greatness of his line, made any effort to use Tibetan religious influence in his rivalry with the Chinese Empire. Nor did the Karma-pa Lamas have sufficient prescience to make the most of this opportunity to strengthen their own position. The fourth Žva-dmar-pa, Chos-grags-ye-ses, did, it is true, visit Mongolia in 1470 (*NT*, f. 127 b) but he was then only seventeen and no important results seem to have flowed from his visit. Similar friendly exchanges continued from time to time but nearly a hundred years later the first evangelists of the dGe-lugs-pa sect found Mongolia an almost untouched missionary field.

Before returning to the succession of Žva-nag Lamas something should be said about the emergence of the Žva-dmar Lamas as a vigorous and ambitious force in Tibetan affairs. The fourth incarnation, Chos-grags-ye-ses, almost the exact contemporary of the seventh

Žva-nag Lama, turned with energy to politics and worldly interests. He acted as a sort of Cardinal-Counsellor to the Princes of Rin-spuñs, who in 1481 effectively usurped in Central Tibet the authority of the Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers which they had been undermining since about 1435. He joined in the struggle against the rivals of Rin-spuñs, including the rising power of the dGe-lugs-pa sect and its lay supporters. From 1498 to 1518 the Karma-pas excluded the monks of 'Bras-spuñs and Se-ra from the Great Prayer ceremony which had been initiated by Tsoñ-kha-pa ; they also founded monasteries of the Žva-nag and Žva-dmar schools near Lhasa in order to overawe 'Bras-spuñs and Se-ra—that near 'Bras-spuñs was called Yam-mda'-phur Thub-dbañ-legs bsad-gliñ ; and they exacted respectful salutes from any dGe-lugs-pa who met a Karma-pa. Chos-grags-ye-śes took the lead in these matters and the same militant spirit was shown by his successors, dKon-mchog-yan-lag (1525-1583) and Chos-gyi-dbañ-phyug (1584-1638). They allied themselves with the Kings of gTsañ (gTsañ sDe-srid : gTsañ Sde-pa), who superseded the Rin-spuñs princes, and also, as suited their purpose, with the Phag-mo-gru-pa, whose influence was renewed about 1517, and with the powerful Lamas of 'Bri-khuñ. This temporal activity of the Žva-dmar-pas may be partly explained by the fact that most of them, unlike the Žva-nag-pas, were born in or near Central Tibet. At all events, the Žva-dmar Lamas were so prominently the leaders in the rivalry with the dGe-lugs-pa that for some Western writers the name "Red Hat" has become the synonym of all the old sects in a way unrecognized in Tibet. This has to some extent affected the reputation of the Karma-pa sect as a whole and of its principal Lamas, the Žva-nag-pa, who in fact largely succeeded in preserving their character as teachers of religion, with special proficiency in its magical and mystic aspects ; they also acted at times as mediators and moderating influences in political dissensions.

Turning again to relations between the Žva-nag Lamas and the Chinese court we come to a curious incident which seems to have been misunderstood by both Western and Chinese scholars. The eighth Žva-nag-pa was Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and in the year of his birth there succeeded to the Chinese throne the Emperor Wu Tsung (Chêng Tè, 1506-1521) who, after a hostile start, gradually became devoted to Buddhism and very indulgent towards Tibetan Lamas. He gave himself a title "equivalent to Dharma Raja" and he sent a mission to Tibet to invite to his court a man who, he was told, was

a living Buddha. The party was attacked and robbed *en route* and failed to achieve its object. That, in brief, is the story from Chinese sources as presented by Mr. Li Tieh-tseng (op. cit., p. 27). Both Mr. Li and Professor Tucci (*TPS*, p. 255, n. 97) assume that the Emperor's mission was aimed at the second Dalai Lama,¹ dGe-'dun-rgya-mtsho (1475-1543) and this is supported by Père L. Wiegier (*Textes Historiques*, vol. ii, pp. 1760-1); but the Karma-pa rNam-thar and dPa-bo Gtsug-lag's history leave no doubt that it was actually sent to invite the eighth Žva-nag Lama. Moreover, the original letter of invitation in Chinese and Tibetan has survived at mTshur-phu and I was allowed to study and photograph it (see Appendices).

The incident proves to have been even more strange than has hitherto been thought. The rNam-thar (f. 152) and dPa-bo Gtsug-lag (vol. *Pa*, f. 205) show that the Tibetans believed that the Emperor considered himself to be in some way an incarnation of the seventh Žva-nag Lama and that this caused them so much concern that they postponed the enthronement of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje. Apart from the difficulty that the Emperor was born a long time before the death of the seventh Žva-nag-pa his claim could be covered by the practice, prevalent especially in the bKa'-rgyud-pa sect, of a deceased Lama reincarnating in at least two successors at the same time, one representing his *gsun* or speech and the other his *thugs* or intellect. What the Emperor had in mind is shown to some extent in the letter of invitation. He gives himself the title "Fa Wang", which is the equivalent of Dharma Raja or Chos-rje—in which form it was borne by several high-ranking Tibetan Lamas. He also takes the name Rin-chen-dpal-ldan. His language is almost fulsomely respectful and he refers to the Lama's visit to China in a previous incarnation. There is no hint of a challenge to the position of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje as the rightful eighth Žva-nag incarnation; all the Emperor appears to claim is that the coincidence of the dates of his own accession to the throne and the birth of the Lama constitute a link in their destiny.

The letter, which was entrusted to the Eunuch Liu Yun, was written in the ninth month of the eleventh year of Chêng Tê, i.e. 1516.

¹ Strictly speaking, the first Dalai Lama was bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, on whom the title was conferred in 1577 by Altan Khan, but it is the accepted practice in Tibet to attribute the title retrospectively to his two previous incarnations, thus treating bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho as the third Dalai Lama. At the time of the incident in question the Karma-pa hierarch was a figure of greater importance than the dGe-lugs-pa and therefore more likely to attract the Emperor's attention.

This disagrees with the information in Wieger's *Textes Historiques*, where the invitation is attributed to 1515, but Dr. H. H. Frankel, of the University of California, Berkeley, has kindly informed me, after reference to the Ming Shih, that the event may be placed later than 1515. The Karma-pa *rNam-thar* states that the invitation was declined on account of inauspicious omens foreboding the death of the Emperor, which occurred shortly afterwards. It is known that the Emperor died late in 1521 and so the party appear to have taken several years to make their preparations and to reach their destination—which was not Central Tibet but the Lama's monastery in Khams. Although the Emperor's invitation may have been inspired only by a somewhat eccentric devotion and although his intentions may have been misunderstood, the ostentatious size, luxury, and military strength of the mission, which are described by dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag (*Pa* 205, 206), must have increased Tibetan anxieties. At all events, no risks were taken; a polite refusal was communicated and the young Lama was hurriedly removed to Central Tibet. Tibetan and Chinese sources disagree about what happened next. The Tibetans say that the envoys withdrew in anger, taking with them the presents they had brought for the Lama and, on the way back, the presents were looted "by others" (*NT*, 152). In dPa'-bo Gtsug-lag the suggestion is that members of the Chinese mission themselves appropriated the valuables. The story in the Ming Shih (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 255) is that the Living Buddha took alarm and went into hiding, whereupon the Chinese officials were angry and tried to get hold of him by force. The "barbarians" attacked by night, killing 100 Chinese and wounding more. The leader of the mission, Yun, escaped and later sent a false report which arrived after the Emperor had died. It seems, therefore, that the Chinese account may contain some confusion and prevarication and the Tibetan some reticence.

When Wu Tsung was succeeded by his cousin Shih Tsung, a violent opponent of Buddhism, the Karma-pa Lamas were spared the embarrassment of further invitations to Peking. The so-called "tribute missions" continued but, as already mentioned, these were little more than commercial ventures.

The eighth *Žva-nag-pa*, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, had some contact with Mongolia, where the principal figure was then Dayan Khan (1465-1543), but it seems to have been only formal (*PT*, *Pa*, f. 208). Like his predecessors, he travelled widely in Tibet and there is an

interesting story in the *rNam-thar* (f. 155) that, on a visit to Rva-sgreñ he studied books belonging to Śa-ra-ba which are described as being kept in leather covers with metal fastenings. When I was at Rva-sgreñ in 1950 I saw a large collection of books similarly wrapped and fastened with chains. I was told they had belonged to Pandit Atiśa. Unfortunately it was not possible to examine them because they had been sealed by the thirteenth Dalai Lama and could not be opened until his successor came of age. Perhaps the attribution of the books to Atiśa was mistaken but part of his remains are said to have been taken to Rva-sgreñ soon after its foundation in 1056; and Śa-ra-ba was a pupil of Atiśa's personal disciple, Po-to-pa, so the library at Rva-sgreñ may well contain books of exceptional importance.

One contemporary of the eighth Žva-nag-pa was the historian dPa-bo Gtsug-lag-'phreñ-ba, who was slightly older and lived some ten years longer. Another was the fifth Žva-dmar-pa, dKon-mchog-yag-lag, over twenty years younger but very early active in political affairs; he allied himself in 1537 with the gTsañ Sde-srid and the 'Bri-khuñ hierarchy in an attempt to suppress the dGa'dan princes, who were the strongest lay champions of the dGe-lugs-pa.

The successor to Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, who died in 1554, was dBañ-phyug-rdo-rje (1556-1603). Presents were exchanged by him with the Emperor Shên Tsung (Wan Li, 1573-1619) and with an unidentified Mongol chief (*NT*, f. 164). The old-standing relationship with the king of 'Jañ Sa-tham (Likiang) was further cultivated. But these friendly connections were of little account when compared with the strong tide of dGe-lugs-pa influence, which began to flow through Mongolia in the lifetime of this incarnation and which was to sweep away the Karma-pa supremacy in the time of his successor.

It may be convenient to recall that about 1435 hegemony among the Mongols fell into the hands of the Oirats, a confederacy of tribes unconnected with the original ruling line of Genghiz and consisting of four main sections—the Torgut; the Choros (later better known as the "Dzungar" invaders of Tibet); the Dörbot; and the Qośot. After some fifty years Dayan Khan, the twenty-ninth successor of Genghiz and a direct descendant of Kublai, succeeded in overcoming the fissiparous tendency of the Mongol system and in reunifying under his leadership the several tribes of Genghizid descent. He was thus able to recover supremacy from the Oirats and to drive them westward out of the territories on which they had

encroached. On Dayan's death in 1543 the unity imposed by his forceful character dissolved and once more the Genghizid tribes went their different ways. These tribes consisted of the Chahar, the tribe of the legitimate successor of Genghiz; the Kharachin; Ördos; Tumed; and the Khalkha confederacy made up of five sub-tribes each led by a descendant of Geresandza, one of Dayan's sons. On the death of Dayan the most powerful were the Ördos and the Tumed.

Although the dGe-lugs-pa may first have gained a footing in Mongolia when the Ördos Khan, Khutuktai Sechen Kong Taiji, captured some of their monks in the course of a raid into north-east Tibet in 1566, it was the exceptional ability and missionary zeal of Lama bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho that effectively laid the foundations of their greatness. In 1577 he converted the Tumed ruler Altan Khan, at that time the most vigorous of Dayan's descendants. Altan bestowed on bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho the title "Dalai Lama" and gave active support to the dGe-lugs-pa faith. The connection was further enhanced by the discovery of bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho's reincarnation in the person of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, a child born to Altan's own son and successor, Senge Dugurun. With these favourable auspices the dGe-lugs-pa teaching spread rapidly and its converts soon included the Chahar chief, Tumen Sasaktu, and the leaders of most of the five Khalkha tribes; it also found its way to the Khans of the Oirat confederacy—the Torgut Khu Orluk; the Dörbot Karakulla; and to the Qosot Khan Boibegus and his brother Gusri who, in 1642, was to conquer Tibet for the dGe-lugs-pa cause.

The Karma-pa had little to set against that accession of strength by the dGe-lugs-pa and they had no leader to compare with bSod-nams rgya-mtsho. The tenth Žva-nag-pa, rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje, who was born in 1604, received an invitation in 1610 to visit "King Kho lo ji", who appears to have been a Mongol chief of the Koko Nor country (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 51) and a grand-nephew of Altan Khan (E. H. Parker, "Mongolia after the Genghizides," *JRAS.* (China), xliv, 1913, p. 97). The guardians of the young Lama feared that he might be kidnapped and they refused the invitation (*NT*, f. 169); but in 1614, on another invitation, the Lama went to Mongolia, where he converted "King Da'i Ching" (? Tsai Seng—a title held by some Tumed, Kharachin, and Khalkha leaders). In 1620 there is mention of presents being sent by the Chahar and Khalkha Khans—presumably Legdan and Altyn (*NT*, f. 174).

Legdan seems to have been for a time a dGe-lugs-pa supporter but his later history shows that he was unreliable.

It appears, therefore, that the Karma-pa Lamas did not neglect nor were neglected by the Mongols but they lacked the missionary fervour of their rivals; moreover their influence and energy were impaired at this time by various internal dissensions. The *Žva-nag-pa* rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje, who was born in 'Gu-log [*sic*] country, came from his childhood under the control of the two lCags-mo Lamas, who displayed open enmity towards the *Žva-dmar-pa* Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug and the gTsañ sDe-srid Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal (*NT*, ff. 168, 171). The latter succeeded in breaking the power of the lCags-mo Lamas about 1620 but his relations with the *Žva-nag-pa* continued to be strained and almost hostile (*NT*, ff. 173, 174). This rupture was still apparent more than twenty years later at the time of Gusri's invasion when, in spite of the common danger, the *Žva-nag-pa* expressed disapproval of the misdeeds of the then sDe-srid, Karma Bstan-skyoñ. It may also be noticed that in 1640, when representations were made by various parties in Tibet to the newly-risen power of the Manchus, the gTsañ ruler commended to their favour only the *Žva-dmar-pa* and made no mention of the *Žva-nag-pa*.

These disagreements weakened the moral authority of the Karma-pa to the advantage of the dGe-lugs-pa and also made inroads on their material position, which depended on the ability of the gTsañ sDe-srid to maintain his hold over the greater part of Tibet. That hold had for some time been subject to attrition. The dGe-lugs-pa connection brought many Mongol supporters into Central Tibet. There was some sort of armed incursion in 1621 and further threatening gestures in 1625 (Tucci, *TPS.*, pp. 58, 59). dGe-lugs-pa writers gloss over the fact that their eventual triumph was secured by a foreign invasion; but too much should not be made of any claim that the opposite side were nationalists defending Tibetan independence for the Karma-pa would have used the Mongol troops of Arslan Khan against their enemies if they could. The story is rather obscure. Arslan's father Chogtu (Dzasaktu?), a Khalkha khan of the Koko Nor, was a supporter of the *Žva-dmar-pa*. It is possible that he sent his son to help the Karma-pa to maintain their position; or Arslan may have set out on a private adventure; but whatever prompted his invasion of Tibet, Arslan proved himself an unscrupulous opportunist with an eye only for

loot. The Karma-pa were his first victims. It appears that Arslan killed the sixth Žva-dmar-pa in an engagement near 'Dam in 1635 and that the Žva-nag-pa had to flee from mTshur-phu. That is what I take to be the meaning of the references to "Karma chuñ ba" and "Karma che-ba" in f. 79 of vol. *Ja* of the fifth Dalai Lama's *rNam-thar* which Professor Tucci kindly allowed me to consult in his fine private library at Rome. The Karma-pa *rNam-thar*, although mentioning that the Žva-dmar-pa died about this time, conceals the circumstances. After this disaster the Karma-pa succeeded in directing Arslan's violence against the dGe-lugs-pa. The dGe-lugs-pa, after suffering some damage, were able to play the same game. They won over Arslan, who again turned his hostility against Karma-pa possessions. The late Žva-dmar-pa's principal official, known as Žva-dmar Rab-byams-pa, sent a hurried protest to Chogtu who, seemingly without compunction, arranged for the execution of his own son Arslan.

About the same time Legdan, Khan of the Chahar, was won over by Chogtu to the Karma-pa side and set out for the Koko Nor area to do battle for them but was killed there by the Qośot Gusri Khan, who was then beginning his career as a dGe-lugs-pa champion. The Karma-pa were thus deprived of their effective allies among the Mongols and Gusri, after clearing up opposition in Koko Nor and Khams, proceeded in 1642 to the invasion of Tibet, the defeat and execution of the gTsañ sDe-srid, and the establishment of the supremacy of the dGe-lugs-pa church.

The problem of tiding over this reversal of power fell to the lot of the tenth Žva-nag-pa, whose uneasy relations with the gTsañ kings have been mentioned earlier. When he was eight and again some six or seven years later there had been an exchange of formal messages with the Emperor Shên Tsung (Wan Li), but there is no further record of correspondence between the Karma-pa and the Chinese court until 1640, when rival parties in Tibet sent letters to the newly-established Ch'ing Emperor seeking to win his support. It was on this occasion that the gTsañ sDe-srid specially commended the Žva-dmar-pa to the Emperor. It appears that in reply the Emperor addressed a letter to the Žva-dmar-pa (W. W. Rockhill, *The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa*, 1910, p. 12), but perhaps this is a misinterpretation. The sixth Žva-dmar-pa, as mentioned above, died or was killed about 1635; and there was some delay in finding his successor. I wonder, therefore, whether the Emperor's letter may have been intended for

the *Žva-nag-pa* and whether the latter also had addressed the Emperor. At all events, before the Imperial letters were received the issue in Tibet had been decided in favour of the *dGe-lugs-pa*.

rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje was a quietist in the tradition of many of his predecessors and he does not appear in *dGe-lugs-pa* records as a figure of any personal importance in their estimation. Through the mediation of the Panchen Lama he quickly reached an agreement with the Dalai Lama by which the Karma-pa, in return for acknowledging the supremacy of the Dalai Lama, were to be left undisturbed in their doctrine and in possession of most of their monasteries (*NT*, f. 177). But this settlement was soon upset by "ill-disposed persons" and the *Žva-nag-pa* became involved, perhaps almost accidentally, in the rebellion by the *sGar-pa* against the new regime. The *sGar-pa* were an East Tibetan clan, perhaps originating in the neighbourhood of Karma *gDan-sa*, from which sprang the line of Rin-spun's princes. Before their rise to power in *gTsañ* they had been in close relations with the Karma-pa through that sect's monasteries in Khams. It was inevitable that the *Žva-nag-pa* should fall under suspicion, although the *rNam-thar* suggests that this was a mistake (f. 179). He was besieged in *sGar-chen* by *sKyi-śod* and Mongol troops. It is not clear what place is meant here by *sGar-chen*, a term apparently used with the general meaning of "Headquarters" or "Principal Seat". It might refer to the Karma-pa's own monastery of *mTshur-phu*, or to the *sGar-pa*'s castle at *Rin-spuñs* or even to some stronghold in *rKoi-po*, in which area the *sGar-pa*'s rebellion was finally crushed (Tucci, *TPS.*, p. 67). The Lama escaped with difficulty from scenes of slaughter and destruction and eventually found refuge with the king of *Sa-tham*, whose family had long been devout supporters of the Karma-pa Lamas. He soon became dissatisfied with the bustle and luxury of the *Sa-tham* court. First he withdrew to a quiet monastery and then, displaying his unusual character, he set out into the dangerous 'Gu-log country, entirely alone and taking the barest necessities, declaring that he intended to visit the new reincarnation of the *Žva-dmar* Lama. He fell among thieves and was robbed of his horse and all the rest of his possessions; but he went on barefooted and in rags, imperturbably begging food and shelter until search parties of his own followers and those of the *Žva-dmar-pa* succeeded in rescuing him (*NT*, f. 182).

In spite of the reduction in his position the *Žva-nag-pa* was still

considered of sufficient importance to be invited to China by the Emperor in 1653, the year in which the Dalai Lama returned from a visit there. He did not accept; but from Sa-tham, where he had settled once more after his solitary adventure, he kept up a correspondence with the Imperial court. In 1659 he appears to have sent a mission to the Emperor (Rockhill, *JRAS.*, 1891, p. 204) and in 1660 this was followed up by the Emperor "Shun-rtsi" (Shun Che: Shih Tsu, 1644-1662), who may have welcomed an opportunity of extending his own influence among the Tibetans in order to offset the power of the Qosot Mongols. "Shun-rtsi" sent a letter and offered to the Lama a seal, referring to the precedent of the Ming dynasty and seeking to establish himself as the successor to their relations with the Tibetan church. The Lama was not to be led into any bargaining with temporal powers and returned the typically Tibetan answer that "no change appeared necessary" (*NT*, f. 184).

While rGyal-mchog-chos-dbyiñs-rdo-rje was in virtual exile at Sa-tham, Karma-pa interests in Central Tibet and gTsañ were in the hands of a young and able deputy, the rGyal-tshab Chen-po Grags-pa-mchog-dbyañ (1617-1658). Accompanied by the Žabs-druñ Rin-po-che of sTag-luñ, who frequently acted as intermediary between the Dalai Lama and the old sects, he visited Lhasa in 1653 to plead for the return of Karma-pa monasteries sequestered after the sGar-pa's rebellion. He succeeded in recovering most of them but not all, for at Lha-luñ and sMra-bo-mchog-pa, in Lho-brag, I was told that those monasteries had formerly been Karma-pa but were taken over by the fifth Dalai Lama. Some degree of dGe-lugs-pa control was retained even at mTshur-phu and there is still a permanent official of the Yig-tshañ (Ecclesiastical Court) stationed there, although his duties now appear to be nominal.

Before his death in 1674 the tenth Žva-nag-pa visited Lhasa and made his peace with the Dalai Lama. Ņag-dbañ-blo-bzañ, "The Great Fifth" Dalai Lama, was born in a rÑiñ-ma-pa family and is widely believed in Tibet to have been for all his life a secret supporter of the unreformed sects. This reputation perhaps reflects the moderation and tact with which he assumed authority over his religious rivals; and it is one good reason for his title "The Great" that in his dealings with other sects he was free from bigotry and iconoclasm, such as marked the activities of the Dzungars during their brief domination of Tibet in 1717 or such as the Chinese sought to impose in 1726.

The eleventh *Žva-nag-pa*, *Ye-śes-rdo-rje* (1676–1702), had a short and uneventful life. A visit to mTshur-phu by the famous Regent Sañs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho in 1686 suggests a growing *rapprochement* between Lhasa and the Karma-pas after the death of the fifth Dalai Lama.

The twelfth incarnation, *Byañ-chub-rdo-rje* (1703–1732) also died quite young but the *rNam-thar* has more to record about him. In 1718 he was taken to Lhasa, where he met the Dzungar leader Tshe-rin-don-grub. He was present later when the seventh Dalai Lama, bsKal-bzañ-rgya-mtsho, arrived at Lhasa in 1720 and he met all the leading men of the day—the sDe-srid Stag-rtse-pa; bKra-śis-rtse-pa; Mongol and Chinese generals; the Minister Khañ-chen and Pho-la Mi-dbañ. The last-named was a friend worth having for he became one of the best rulers Tibet has known; and, although he was a sincere follower of the dGe-lugs-pa, he is still spoken of with affection by adherents of the older sects for his noble and enlightened defence of their freedom against the Chinese Imperial edict enjoining persecution of the unreformed church (L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, 1950, p. 94). The *rNam-thar* records that Pho-la sent presents to the *Žva-nag-pa* on several occasions. The Karma-pa Lama was also one of those who mediated a settlement when Pho-la invaded Bhutan in 1730 (Petech, *op. cit.*, p. 146). In 1728 the Lama had accepted an invitation to visit the Emperor, but before going to China he, together with the *Žva-dmar-pa*, the Si-tu Rin-po-che, and other Karma-pa Lamas, went on a pilgrimage to Nepal and India. In 1731 the *Žva-nag* and *Žva-dmar* Lamas proceeded to Peking. It was an ill-starred visit. Both the Lamas, who had been close friends and companions for most of their life, died there in 1732 within a month of one another.

The thirteenth Incarnation, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1733–1797), is reputed to have been a famous *gter-ston* and to have understood the language of animals. Most of the space assigned to him in the *rNam-thar* is devoted to his conversations with beasts and birds. There is nothing of any political significance; no reference to important lay officials or to relations with China. From this account it would seem that the sect was settling into a staid and venerable respectability; but that assumption would be premature for the *rNam-thar*, with excessive caution, suppresses all mention of the

one notorious and disturbing Karma-pa of the day—the last Žva-dmar-pa.

The ninth incarnation of that line, who was born about 1734, was an elder brother of the third Panchen Lama, Blo-bzañ-dpal-ldan ye-śes (1738–1780).¹ I have not yet been able to discover his personal name.² The eldest brother in the family was the Panchen Lama's *Phyag-mdzod* or Treasurer—the “Chanzo Cusho” whom Bogle knew well at Shigatse in 1775 and Turner in 1783. He also was an incarnate Lama and is mentioned in the *rnam-thar* of the third Panchen Lama, which I have seen by the kindness of Professor Tucci, as *Phyag-mdzod* Chen-mo Druñ-pa Hu-tuk-tu Blo-bzañ-byin-pa. In Chinese sources he is called Chungpa Hutuktu (S. Cammann, *Trade Through the Himalayas*, Princeton, 1951, p. 73, n. 81). Bogle says that the Chanzo Cusho was a half-brother of the Panchen Lama, being a son of the same mother by a different father. The mother was a member of the royal family of Ladakh (Bogle and Manning, C. Markham, 1859, pp. 139, 84). It is possible that the Žva-dmar-pa, too, was a half-brother. The Panchen Lama's nephews, whom Bogle calls the “Pyn (spun) Cushos”, were, so he says, the sons of another brother who also was a Lama. One of this Lama's daughters, by another wife, was the incarnation of rDo-rje Phag-mo (Markham, op. cit., pp. 108, 109). According to Bogle, this brother died before 1775. As he had two acknowledged wives he may have been a monk of one of the unreformed sects; perhaps he was, in fact, the Žva-dmar-pa whom Bogle may have been mistaken in understanding to be dead.

The discovery of so many important incarnations in the same well-connected family helps to explain the Chinese Imperial Edict of 1793 which sought to regulate the selection of incarnate Lamas (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 55). In this instance it is particularly surprising to find one family providing at the same time important figures in both the reformed and unreformed sects.

¹ Often described by western and Chinese writers as the sixth Panchen Lama. There is no question, even at bKra-sis-lhun-po, that he was actually third in succession from Blo-bzañ-chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1569–1662) whom his pupil, the fifth Dalai Lama pronounced to have been an incarnation of 'Od-dpag-med. The ascription to the Panchen Lamas of an extended spiritual lineage, including Indian teachers and the Pandita of the Sa-skya sect, is simply a subsequent attempt to enhance their prestige *vis-à-vis* the Dalai Lamas for political ends.

² Professor Tucci has informed me that there is a religious work, written apparently in the eighteenth century, by a “Žva-dmar dGe-'dun-bstan'dzin-rgya-mtsho”; but it has not yet been possible to establish that this was the name of the ninth Žva-dmar-pa Incarnation.

The death of the third Panchen Lama at Peking in 1780 set off a train of incidents. According to a report written at Kathmandu in 1792 by a Muslim agent of the East India Company the Žva-dmar-pa immediately fled to Nepal, taking much treasure with him (W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, 1811, App. II). It is suggested that he had reason to fear the Chinese and suspicions were voiced that the Panchen Lama had been poisoned because the Emperor disliked his great authority in Tibet, his independent attitude towards his Chinese suzerain, and his relations with the British in India. The invitation to Peking may have been intended to remove him temporarily from Tibet and to let him understand what the Emperor thought of his activities. The Chinese official account of his death, which is accepted in the Lama's *nam-thar* and in a letter from his brother the *Phyag-mdzod* to Warren Hastings, is that he died of smallpox. There is no reason to doubt that. This is not the place for a discussion whether the Panchen Lama might have been deliberately infected with the disease, for even if he had been murdered—which is improbable—there is no clear reason why the Žva-dmar-pa should consider himself endangered.

Chinese sources explain the Žva-dmar-pa's flight as due to a quarrel with his elder brother when the latter returned from China and treated him unfairly by withholding his just share of the late Panchen Lama's wealth and by persecuting him on account of his position as a Lama of the unreformed church. Some such motive is indicated by the vindictive hatred directed by the Žva-dmar-pa against bKra-sis-lhun-po; and when distributing punishments later the Chinese clearly held the *Phyag-mdzod* to be largely responsible, for they took him captive to China and confiscated his property as well as that of the Žva-dmar-pa. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the Chinese had other reasons for disliking the *Phyag-mdzod*, who had taken the leading part in the negotiations with Bogle.

The origin and course of the whole affair are well examined by Professor S. Cammann in his work already mentioned; and as all the principal references are given there I shall not quote them here.

In Nepal the Žva-dmar-pa was welcomed by the Raja, into whose ear he poured incitement against Tibet, recounting in particular the wealth of bKra-sis-lhun-po. The Raja was not unwilling to be incited. Relations between Tibet and Nepal had been strained since the seizure of power by the Gorkhas in 1769; and so, in 1788, on the

pretext that the Tibetan Government was behaving improperly in matters of currency and frontier dues, a Nepalese army was sent into Tibet. It occupied Śel-dkar rdzong and the frontier districts of Skyid-groñ, Ņe-lam, and rDzong-kha. Tibetan and Chinese officials negotiated an agreement by which the Nepalese were bought off with the promise of a yearly tribute. The Žva-dmar-pa appeared at these negotiations as a representative of Nepal; and on the Lhasa side the representatives included Lamas from Sa-skya and bKra-śis-lhun-po as well as the Minister Bstan-'dzin-dpal-'byor, of the dGa'-bži family, who was married to a niece of the Žva-dmar-pa (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 56). The agreement, reached in 1789, broke down when the Tibetans failed to pay more than one instalment of the tribute; and in 1791 the Nepalese launched a fresh invasion. The dGa'-bži Minister, who was sent to protest, was taken prisoner and a Chinese envoy at Kathmandu, who demanded reparation, was treated with contempt. The Chinese Government, by now aware of the mishandling of affairs by local authorities, dispatched a strong force preceded by renewed demands for reparation and for the surrender of the Žva-dmar-pa. To this last the Raja replied that "the Lama was the same as himself". Later, when the Chinese had routed the Nepalese and had thrown their country into alarm and confusion, the Raja decided that he would have to give up the Lama, but the latter took his own life by poison. That is the story reported from Kathmandu while the invasion was still in progress (Kirkpatrick, loc. cit.). Chinese sources raise a doubt whether the Žva-dmar-pa's death was due to poison or to natural causes (Li Tieh-tseng, op. cit., p. 244, n. 153); but there is no good reason to question the account written from Kathmandu at the time. At all events, the Žva-dmar-pa escaped the vengeance of his enemies; but his dead body and his followers were handed over to the Chinese. Professor Cammann also says (op. cit., p. 131) that the Žva-dmar-pa's Tibetan wife was handed over. C. Imbault Huart, quoting from the same sources in *Journal Asiatique*, 1878, does not mention this.

After the Žva-dmar-pa's death the Chinese brought a curious charge against him in the Edict of 1793 already mentioned, where it is said: "Quite recently Dza-marpa (Hutuketu) took advantage of the internal condition of Tibet to conspire to seize the office of Panchen Lama and he stirred up the Gorkhas to take by force of arms Tashilhunpo . . ." (Rockhill, *Dalai Lamas*, p. 56). If Rockhill's translation is correct, this improbable allegation casts some doubt on

other Chinese statements about the affair. But whatever the causes of his action, the *Žva-dmar-pa* was clearly guilty of treasonable behaviour against Tibet and it is not surprising that the Dalai Lama forbade any further reincarnation of that line ¹ and also confiscated the *Žva-dmar-pa*'s property, including the monastery of *Yañs-pa-can*, which was conveyed to the *dGe-lugs-pa* monastery of *Kun-bde-glin*.

I understand that the memory of the *Žva-dmar-pa* is kept alive by a distinguished family at Kathmandu which looks on him as a generous benefactor and recounts the tradition that he disappeared from earth leaving behind him only one leg, the bones of which, together with his boot, are preserved as relics in their house.

It is not entirely inappropriate that the *Žva-dmar-pa* hierarchy should end in a blaze of violence. In contrast, the *Žva-nag-pa* Lamas, after they had been displaced from their eminent position by the victorious *dGe-lugs-pa*, continued to live a succession of quiet and gentle lives remote from politics and devoted only to matters of religion. Their reputation and moral influence are still high in Khams, Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, and Ladakh, as well as among the nomads of the *Byañ-thañ*. The sixteenth Incarnation, *Rañ-byuñ-rig-pa'i-rdo-rje*, was born in Khams about 1927. He exemplifies the religious calm and the love of wild animals common to many of his predecessors; and he is held in veneration for his powers as a *gter-ston*, by which he discovered a store of silver hidden by a former incarnation and which he used to build a new chapel. In addition to his kindness in entertaining me and showing me the treasures of his monastery of *mTshur-phu*, he conducted for my benefit the ceremony of wearing the magical black hat of *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa*, which confers "Deliverance on Sight". The Lama seated himself on his throne and the hat was brought in a silk-covered box. Two monks took it out, holding it firmly all the time, for they say that if it is let go it will fly away by itself. They placed it on the Lama's head and he grasped it with one hand and held it for the time it took to count the beads of his rosary as he recited the special prayer for the occasion. When the hat was restored to its box the ceremony ended with a blessing from the Lama.

Mention of the black mitre woven for *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa* from the hair of the *Mkha'-gro-ma* some 800 years ago serves to link the present day with the origin of the Karma-pa sect and provides a suitable conclusion for these notes.

¹ Although there is now no *Žva-dmar-pa* Lama, Karma-pas like to believe that he continues to reincarnate in the person of the *Si-tu Rinpoche* of *dPal-spuñs*.

ZAITÚN'S FIVE CENTURIES OF SINO-FOREIGN TRADE

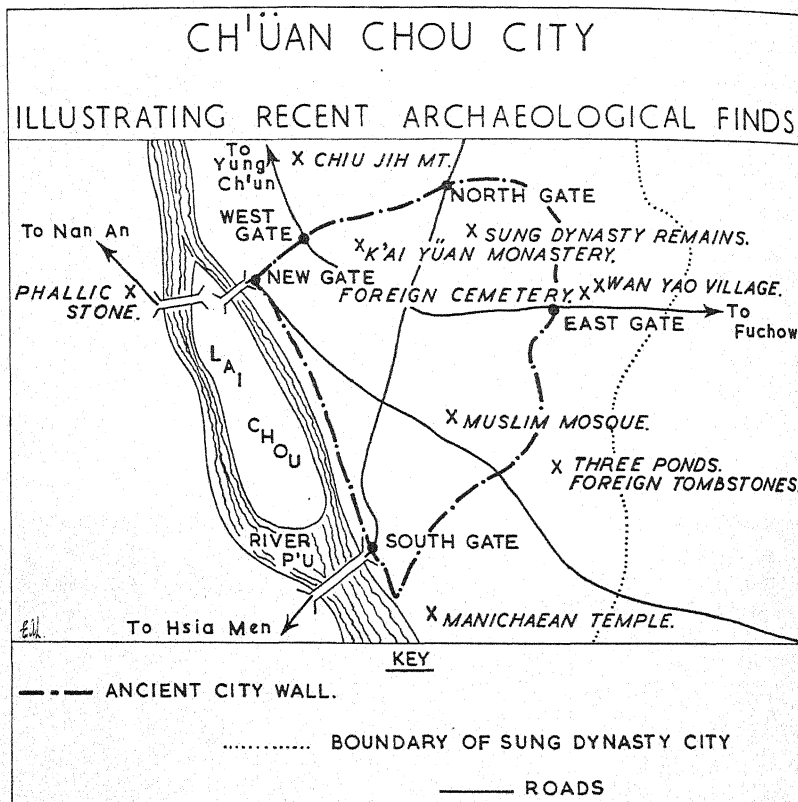
BY D. HOWARD SMITH

THE MODERN CITY of Ch'üan-chou, in the province of Fukien, China, and situated near to Amoy on the Formosa Strait, was from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries the chief port for the ocean-going trade between China and the West, particularly during the Sung (A.D. 960-1280) and the Yüan (A.D. 1280-1368) dynasties. An extensive and lucrative trade was carried on with Java, Sumatra, India, and the Persian Gulf. Through Arabic, Persian, and Syriac speaking intermediaries precious products of China found their way on to the European markets. In the thirteenth century the city of Zaitún, as it was known in the West, excited the admiration and wonder of the Polos, the early Franciscan missionaries, and Muslim travellers by the size and wealth of its commercial undertakings. With the fall of the Mongol (Yüan) dynasty about the middle of the fourteenth century the city fell on evil times from which it never fully recovered, for though some considerable trade was carried on during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, Ch'üan-chou as an international port declined, and its great rival, Canton, grew from the time that Portuguese traders were allowed to establish themselves at Macao.

The city was known to western traders as Zaitún (variously spelt Zaytún, Zaiton, Zitún, etc.), an Arabic transliteration of the Chinese characters Tz'u T'ung (刺桐). The name seems to have been derived from the extensive plantations which Liu Tsung Hsiao, the governor of the province in A.D. 944, had planted round the city when, to increase foreign trade, he extended its boundaries and enlarged its walls. Though the city had commercial contacts with Korea and Japan throughout the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), it was towards the end of that period that a large part of the southern sea-trade was diverted to Ch'üan-chou from Canton. Ch'üan-chou was proving to be more easily accessible for the products of Korea and Japan and a large part of the Chinese hinterland, and probably the local customs officials were offering more favourable terms than could be obtained in the southern city.¹ By the early twelfth century

¹ Chao Ju-kua, *Chu Fan Chih* transl. by Hirth and Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 17.

the port had so grown in importance that the Arab settlement was larger than that in Canton, and the fame of the city had extended throughout the medieval world under the Arab name of Zaitún. A Sung dynasty topographical reference says that Ch'üan-chou lay fifty-four stages from the capital, had trading connections with



thirty-six centres beyond the seas, and that within the walls of the city five hundred thousand inhabitants lived in eighty wards. Twelfth century contemporary Chinese writers agree in stating that the foreign trade of China was confined to Canton and Ch'üan-chou, if not by law at least by custom.¹

The Mongol dynasty which followed, being itself of foreign extraction, welcomed foreigners, and the foreign population of Zaitún probably reached its peak during the first half of the fourteenth century. Indians, Arabs, Persians, and others were allowed to

¹ Ibid., p. 22.

follow their own customs, to build their trade factories, spacious residences and places of worship, and to purchase land for their burial grounds. Brahminism, Islam, Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism, Nestorian and Latin Christianity all had their adherents within the city. The foreigners lived and traded in comparative peace and prosperity, and mutual tolerance, under the rule of the Great Khan, whose capital, Cambulac (Peking), was several weeks journey away.

Ch'üan-chou was seriously damaged in the recent Sino-Japanese war, and its ancient walls were demolished. It was discovered that a great number of large stones which had been used during the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties for repairing the city walls were engraved memorial and tombstones of the Sung and Yüan dynasties. Among the stones, inscribed not only with Chinese characters but bearing inscriptions in Arabic, Syriac, Mongolian, Latin, and other languages, and decorated with a variety of religious motifs, there were several of undoubtedly Christian origin. From an exhaustive study of the Latin inscription on one of the stones, at least the possibility of its being the actual tombstone from the grave of Bishop Andrew of Perugia, who was bishop of Zaitún about A.D. 1330, is established.¹

The Chinese government has now taken in hand the preservation of these historical monuments. Further research has brought many more to light, and over a hundred are now housed in the Bureau of Culture. In 1954 the archaeologist, Chuang Wei Chi (莊爲璣), went to Ch'üan-chou to make a detailed investigation on the spot. His purpose was to study the evidences of Sino-foreign relationships, and his work² has brought to light many interesting facts which testify to the great importance of Zaitún in the Sung and Yüan dynasties, and help to augment in more detail the brief accounts given by medieval travellers to China who, if they travelled by sea, made Zaitún the port of disembarkation.

Before summarizing the results of recent archaeological investigation in Ch'üan-chou, a brief recapitulation of the main references to the port made by early travellers will indicate its immense importance for the international trade of China, particularly in the first half of the fourteenth century before "Christian intercourse,

¹ An account of this early post-war discovery was given by Professor John Foster in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for April, 1954; followed by an article in the *Illustrated London News* for 14th May, 1955. Both articles are excellently illustrated.

² Chuang Wei Chi's account is to be found in Chinese, in the K'ao Ku T'ung Hsün (考古通訊), 1956, No. 3, pp. 43-48 (Peking).

missions, and merchants alike disappear from the field . . . as the Mongol dynasty totters and comes down.”¹ During this period the Chinese empire was particularly free from the xenophobia which has so characterized her relationships with foreign countries of the West over long periods of her history.

A most interesting account of the city is given by Marco Polo, who seems to have journeyed to it, in the first instance, overland from Fuchow, in which place he found representatives of “a race of people of whom no one knows what Law they follow; they are not idolaters, for they have no idols; they do not worship fire; they do not profess the Law of Mahomet; nor do they seem to be Christians.”² Marco came to the conclusion that they were Christians, after finding portions of the Psalter among their books; but they were undoubtedly Manichaeans, who were very numerous throughout the whole province, and did not altogether disappear till the beginning of the seventeenth century.³ From Fuchow “at the end of five days one reaches a very large and noble city, called Zaitún. Here is the harbour whither all the ships of India come, with much costly merchandise, quantities of precious stones of great value, and many fine large pearls. It is also the port whither go the merchants of Manji, which is the region stretching all around. In a word, in this port there is such traffic of merchandise, precious stones and pearls, that it is truly a wonderful sight. From the harbour of this city all this is distributed over the whole province of Manji. And I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere to be taken to Christian lands, there are a hundred to this port of Zaitún. For you must know that it is one of the two greatest harbours in the world for the amount of its trade. And I assure you that the Great Kaan receives enormous revenues from this city and port.”⁴

It was from Zaitún that Marco Polo sailed in 1292, in a “little fleet, composed of fourteen ships, carrying six hundred passengers in addition to the crews . . . The whole journey to Hormuz lasted over two years.”⁵

¹ Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1915). New edition, ed. by H. Cordier, vol. 1, p. 172.

² Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo* transl. into Engl. from the text of L. F. Benedetto (London, 1931), p. 261.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴ Aldo Ricci, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

Abulfeda (A.D. 1273-1331), though he never went to Zaitún and derived his information at secondhand, describes the port as "a haven of China, and according to the accounts of merchants who have travelled in those parts, is a city of mark. It is situated on a marine estuary which ships enter from the China Sea. The estuary extends fifteen miles, and there is a river at the head of it."¹

Ibn Batuta (*circa* 1347) was greatly impressed by the wealth, importance, and size of the port of Zaitún, where he found a strong and vigorous community of Mohammedan merchants and traders. "The first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the seas was Zaitún . . . It is a great city, superb indeed, and in it they make damasks of velvet as well as those of satin . . . The harbour of Zaitún is one of the greatest in the world—I am wrong: it is *the* greatest! I have seen there about a hundred first-class junks together; as for small ones they were past counting . . . The day after my arrival at Zaitún I saw there the nobleman who had been in India as ambassador with the presents for the Sultan . . . He saluted me, and gave information about me to the chief of the council, who in consequence assigned me quarters in a fine house. I then had visits from the Kazi of the Mohammedans, Tájuddín of Ardebil, a virtuous and generous person; from the Sheikh of Islam, Kamáluddín Abdallah of Ispahan, a very pious man; and from the chief merchants of the place."²

Ibn Batuta records that vessels for the ocean-going trade were built only at Zaitún and Sinkalan (Canton).³ He also speaks of the manufacture of porcelain at Zaitún, a commodity which, even in those early times, formed a considerable part of the export trade.⁴ Recent archaeological research has verified the actual site of the kilns, located outside the east gate of the ancient city, and dating from the Sung dynasty.

It was in Zaitún that the Franciscan missionaries of the early fourteenth century established a mission, and a bishopric second only to the archbishopric of Cambulac (Peking), ruled over by John of Montecorvino. Friar John had reached Peking in 1294, shortly after the death of Kublai Khan. It was as a result of his representations that the Pope chose seven Franciscan friars for the China

¹ Henry Yule, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 117-119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

mission, only three of whom reached their destination. These three Gerard, Peregrine of Castello, and Andrew of Perugia in turn became bishops of Zaitún.¹

It was in the year 1313 that, in the city of Zaitún "a rich Armenian lady did build a large and fine enough church, which was erected into a cathedral by the archbishop himself of his own free-will. The lady assigned it, with a competent endowment which she provided during her life, and secured by her will at death, to Friar Gerard the bishop, and the friars who were with him, and he became accordingly the first occupant of the cathedral".² He was followed as bishop by Peregrine of Castello, who died in 1322. Soon after his death Andrew of Perugia, who had already in 1318 left Peking to join the friars at Zaitún, was appointed to the cathedral church. Being the recipient of a stipend from the imperial treasury, Andrew, on his arrival, "caused a convenient and handsome church to be built in a certain grove, quarter of a mile outside the city, with all the offices sufficient for twenty-two friars, and with four apartments such that any one of them is good enough for a church dignitary of any rank."³ This seems to indicate that a considerable Christian community had grown up in Zaitún, and this is confirmed by Friar Odoric, who arrived in the city sometime after 1322, and by Marignolli, who sailed from Zaitún to India in either 1346 or 1347. In the travels of Friar Odoric we read, "I came to a certain noble city which is called Zaitún, where we friars minor have two houses, and there I deposited the bones of our friars who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Jesus Christ . . . The city is twice as great as Bologna, and in it are many monasteries of devotees, idol worshippers every man of them. In one of these monasteries which I visited, there were three thousand monks and eleven thousand idols."⁴

Marignolli refers to Zaitún as "a wondrous fine seaport and a city of incredible size, where our minor friars have three very fine churches, passing rich and elegant; and they have a bath also and a

¹ Columba Cary-Elwes, *China and the Cross* (London, 1957), p. 61.

² From the letter of Andrew of Perugia, written in 1326. See Yule, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 72.

³ Yule, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 183-4. The monastery visited by Odoric was probably the famous Buddhist Monastery, founded in the T'ang dynasty, and boasting two great seven-storied pagodas.

See also, G. Eecke and P. Demiéville, *The Twin Pagodas of Zayton* (Harvard, Univ. P., 1935).

fondaco which serves as a depot for all the merchants. They have also fine bells of the best quality".¹

So it is evident that by the middle of the fourteenth century a considerable amount of ocean-going trade in the great port of Zaitún was being carried on by Christian sailors and merchants, who needed their own mercantile establishment and lodging-house, and whose spiritual needs were catered for by the Friars Minor in three fine churches. One may surmise that not many Chinese were attracted to Christianity, for whatever indigenous church and clergy there might have been passed away when the foreigners were expelled from the country. The Jesuits, who came to China at the end of the sixteenth century, found no trace of the Franciscan mission. Latin Christianity in the China of the fourteenth century was but one of those strange foreign cults (Brahminism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism), which were practised by the merchants and seamen who swarmed the streets of Zaitún and Canton.

The investigations which Professor Chuang Wei Chi conducted in and around Ch'üan-chou in 1954 were no doubt prompted by the discoveries of a local Christian schoolmaster, referred to in the articles by Professor Foster. Professor Chuang's researches were conducted in nine locations situated in five widely separated areas in and about the city. The results of his investigation may be briefly recapitulated as follows.

(1) *Discoveries outside the East Gate of the City.*

When, during the demolition of the city walls, the foundations in and around the East Gate were uncovered, there came to light a great number of large stones, inscribed in various languages, which proved on examination to be memorial stones and gravestones from the temples and graveyards used by foreigners during the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties. The expulsion of foreigners took place in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and apart altogether from wilful destruction and vandalism, their temples and graveyards would inevitably fall into neglect and disuse, until the time came when the stones were removed and used for urgent repairs to the city wall in the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties. More than a hundred of these stones are now preserved, and others are continually

¹ Yule, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 229. A "*fondaco*" was a mercantile establishment and lodging-house in a foreign country.

coming to light, inscribed with Arabic, Syriac, Persian or Latin lettering.

Outside the East Gate, at a place called Wan Yao Hsiang (碗窰鄉), the name "Kiln Village" being significant, ancient kilns for the manufacture of porcelain were discovered. The porcelain proves the kilns to be at least as early as the Sung dynasty.¹ This is confirmed by the *Chu Fan Chih*, which mentions porcelain and silk as being among the chief exports from Ch'üan-chou.² The date of the construction of the kilns was unknown until an important reference was found in the clan register of the great Liu family, which held many important positions in the life of the city. In A.D. 944, when Liu Tsung Hsiao enlarged the city boundaries to the east, he also established kilns for the manufacture of porcelain so as to supply the growing foreign market.

During the Sung and Yüan dynasties cemeteries and private graveyards for foreigners were established outside the East Gate of the city. Among the most recent finds is a tombstone inscribed in Arabic and Chinese, and extremely well-preserved. A photograph in the K'ao Ku T'ung Hsün³ shows two lines of Arabic, beautifully engraved, in addition to a third line of decorative design which seems to run round the four sides of the tomb. The top line is a quotation from the Qur'an 28: 88, "Everything perishes except His face. To Him belongs the jurisdiction, and to Him you will be returned." The second line, at the end, reads, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," and on the side the quotation from the Qur'an 2: 256, "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Self-subsistent. Slumber does not seize Him, nor sleep. To Him belong what is in the heavens, and what is in the earth. Who is he who can intercede with Him except by His permission?"⁴ Not visible in the photograph there is a Chinese inscription which reads, "The deceased, born in . . . died in his thirtysixth year, and is peacefully buried here, on the first day of the seventh month

¹ A full account of this discovery is to be found in Chinese, in the *Wen Wu Ts'an K'ao Tz'u Liao* (文物參考資料), 1955, No. 5, p. 98 (Peking).

² Chau Ju Kua, *Chu Fan Chih* (諸蕃誌) ed. by W. Rockhill, Tokio, 1914. Pt. 2, chapter Hai An, p. 166.

³ *Kao Ku T'ung Hsün* (考古通訊), 1956, No. 3 (Peking). Plates: pg. 12, No. 1.

⁴ The author is indebted to Prof. J. Robson of Manchester University for identifying and translating these Arabic inscriptions.

of the seventh year of the Ta Te period (A.D. 1304). His orphaned son, Wu Ying To, in deep sorrow thus commemorates him."

According to investigations, many of these stone graves had their own individual plots of land. The wealthier foreign merchants of the time had the custom of building their own private tombs and enclosing them within gardens. It is possible to distinguish four of these small areas: one believed to be the grave of Sharif-Uddin near the Tung Ch'an (東禪) monastery; a second, the grave of a military commander named Chin; a third, the private grave of a person called Sai; and the fourth, a public cemetery for foreigners.

The neighbouring foreign cemetery at Sheng Mu Hsiang (聖墓鄉) was, according to the *Records of Fukien* (Min Shu Chi Tsai, 閩書記載) established as a cemetery for Muslims as early as the T'ang dynasty. The date given, i.e. before A.D. 627 is incorrect, as Chin Chi T'ang in his *History of the Muslims in China* (Chung Kuo Hui Chiao Shih, 中國回教史), states that Modammedans entered China in 629. This cemetery had a very long connection with the Muslims, for the Cheng Ho (鄭和) stele on the same hill records that the Imperial Envoy and Commander-in-Chief, the Grand Eunuch Cheng Ho, proceeding on official business to Hormuz and other countries in the Western Ocean, burnt incense here on 31st May, 1417, in order to secure divine protection for his dangerous and arduous mission. That Cheng Ho was a Muslim seems beyond reasonable doubt.¹

(2) *Discoveries within and beyond the West Gate.*

Considerable new knowledge has come to light in respect of the east and west pagodas of the great Buddhist K'ai Yüan (開元) monastery. This largest and most famous of the monasteries of Ch'üan Chou was important in the T'ang dynasty. In the reign of the empress Wu, between the years 685 and 689, a certain Huang Shou Kung (黃守恭) gave up his mulberry garden for the establishment of a monastery. Mulberry groves were planted for the feeding of silkworms, and the Huang family, wealthy landowners and

¹ For references to this stele see Pelliot, Articles in *T'oung Pao* 31 (1935), p. 314; 32 (1936), pp. 211-212, and Duyvendak, *T'oung Pao* 34 (1939), p. 381.

See also the discussion of Cheng Ho's origin in Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 31 (1935), pp. 274-279.

Pelliot entertained some doubt as to the reliability of the inscription on the stele, but Duyvendak believed that its testimony might be safely accepted.

manufacturers of silk goods, came originally from the neighbouring town of Nan-an (南安), which was a silk producing town according to the Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao (文獻通考). During the T'ang and subsequent periods Ch'üan-chou exported silk as merchandise, and paid wadding and piece materials as tribute. Records of a certain Hsü (許) clan indicate that even down to the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties Ch'üan-chou possessed factories for the manufacture of silk goods, which formed a considerable part of the trade. The twin pagodas in the grounds of the K'ai Yüan monastery were built on the site of earlier wooden structures in the Southern Sung dynasty and took twenty-two years to build, from 1228 to 1250. The records indicate that they were built as a result of the mutual co-operation of Indian and Chinese merchants. There is evidence of Hindu cultic influence.¹

In what has now become the Chung San Park (中山園) many cultural remains from the Southern Sung period have come to light. In ancient times the site of this park was outside the city, but was incorporated within the city limits in the S. Sung period. Here, as far back as 1935, there was discovered a grave dating from the T'ang dynasty of the period A.D. 627-650. In the winter of 1954 excavations carried out in the neighbourhood of this tomb gave remarkable evidence of Sung dynasty occupation. A very considerable area, which later became waste land, was densely populated and built-up in Sung times. In an area extending outside the ancient walls from the west gate to the north gate of the city numerous Sung coins, porcelain and pottery, bone, glassware, and bronze hairpins, animal bones and sea shells, etc., have been found. Six large wells supplied the people with water. Stones used in the construction of artificial mounds, stone lions, and the foundation stones of pillars are widely scattered.

Outside the West Gate is the famous hill known as the Chiu Jih Shan (九日山). On the slope of this hill is the most ancient evidence of Sino-foreign intercourse, a famous Buddhist monastery said to date from the third century A.D. It is recorded in the Hsü Kao Seng Ch'uan (續高僧傳), which contains historical notices of celebrated Buddhist monks from A.D. 519-665 that a certain Indian monk, Chü No Lo T'o (Kulanâtha, 拘那羅陀, 500-569) came

¹ Ecke and Demiéville, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92. Plate 69c shows a cow offering milk to a lingam: one of two panel reliefs with lingam representations, now in the outer wall of a small shrine to the N.E. of the K'ai Yüan temple. See p. 21.

to reside on this hill and there translated the famous Diamond Sutra.

On the top of this hill is a rare inscription from the Sung dynasty, from the period 1122 to 1254 A.D. It is a request for favourable winds on behalf of the fleets of ships engaged in the ocean-going trade. Stone inscriptions of this kind were put up by the bureau in control of shipping, the Shih p'o ssu (市舶司), and record in detail official titles and names.

(3) *Discoveries inside and outside the South-East Gate.*

Important evidences of Islamic and Brahmanic influences have been found both inside and outside the South-East gate of the city. Near to this gate, commonly called the T'ung Huai (通淮) or T'u (塗) gate, are a famous Muslim mosque and the remains of a Brahmin temple. The Muslim mosque claims to be one of the most important of the ancient mosques of China. An inscription on a stone tablet, in Arabic, records that it was built in A.H. 400, that is, in the reign of the Sung dynasty emperor, Chen Tsung. It was specially built by a muslim from Jerusalem who patterned it on the great mosque of Damascus.

In a notice in the *Chu Fan Chih*¹ it is recorded that "in the Yung Hsi period (Sung dynasty, A.D. 984-988), a priest, by name Lo Hu-na (囉護哪) arrived in Ch'üan-chou by sea. He called himself a native of T'ien Chu (India). The foreign traders, considering that he was a foreign priest (胡僧), vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silk, jewels, and precious stones, but the priest had no use for them himself. He bought a piece of ground and built a Buddhist shrine (佛刹) in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou. It is the Pao Lin Yüan (寶林院) of the present day.

In an entry recently discovered in the *Chin Clan Register* (金氏族譜) it records that a Hindu temple was erected on the property of a certain Ch'iao P'ing Chang (喬乎章) in the troubled times at the fall of the Yüan dynasty. Recently much weathered Hindu images and inscriptions have been discovered in the neighbourhood, in the "Hindu Temple Pond (番佛寺池)". For a long time insufficient evidence made it impossible to determine the nature and date of this temple, but in view of recent research it is now possible to make a fairly reliable identification.

The *Chu Fan Chih* also records that in Sung times an official

¹ Op. cit., pt. 1, p. 216.

called Shih Na-wei (施那偉) constructed a cemetery to the south-east of the city. "A foreign trader by name Shih Na-wei, an Arab by birth, established himself in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou. Disdaining wealth, but charitable and filled with the spirit of his western home, he built a cemetery in the south-east corner of the city as a last resting place for the abandoned bodies of foreign traders."¹ In the course of his investigations Professor Chuang came across three small ponds outside the south-east gate in which lay several tens of white stone grave-slabs, in close proximity, and only revealed because of the shallowness of the water due to drought. Professor Chuang surmises that these, too, are from the graves of foreigners of the Sung dynasty. In one of the ponds was a huge stone pillar, probably from a church or temple. Nearby was found a grave-slab completely covered with Arabic, and two smaller stones with Arabic inscriptions. Another stone, inscribed with Chinese and some unidentified language, was evidently the tombstone of some great official of the Yüan dynasty who controlled the affairs of the Manichaeans and Christians throughout Kiang-nan in South China. The inscription is dated A.D. 1313.²

Not far away, outside the South Gate among another group of gravestones, was discovered a stele which had been erected in the Yüan dynasty to a great official. He had been an officer for foreign affairs, and had travelled as far as Hormuz on the Persian gulf, had had audience with the Persian king Ḥaṣan, taking and bringing back rich presents on behalf of the Khan.

This area beyond the South-East Gate was, in ancient times, a place of great importance in the life of the city. It was here that the great families had their residences. From here Marco Polo set sail, and also the war-ships which went out on expeditions against Java and Japan. Here stood the famous inscription recording the names of 120 large monasteries throughout China, where prayers were offered for the success of the Java expedition. This is one of the most important Buddhist memorials of the Yüan dynasty.

(4) *Discoveries outside the South Gate.*

On the Hua Piao Hill (華表山) near to the river there stands a stone temple with the name "Thatched Monastery (草庵)".

¹ Op. cit., pt. 1, p. 24b.

² For a translation of the inscription see Carrington Goodrich, *Art. Recent discoveries at Zayton*, J. Am. Oriental Soc. 77, No. 3 (1957), p. 163.

In the central hall of this temple there is a most unusual Manichaeian stone image, possessed of a halo. On the stone is inscribed, "The disciple Ch'en Ch'i-tse of the town of Hsien Tien has piously erected this holy image of the teacher, with the prayer that the deceased ancestors will soon be born in the Buddha-land. Dated, the month of fasting in the fifth year of Chih Yüan (1339). There is a further inscription, dated 1436, reading "The illustrious image of the most high and perfectly true Mani, who exhorts you to meditate on purity and light, and to strive with all your might after wisdom". The Records of Fukien (Min Shu Chi Tsai, 閩書記載), state that in Ch'üan-chou there was the tomb of the T'ang dynasty teacher of the law, Hu Lu (呼祿). If, as seems probable, Hu Lu was a Manichaeian, then the Manichaeian religion entered China both by the land route across Asia and also by the sea route, Ch'üan-chou being the important port of entry.

(5) *Discoveries outside the South-West Gate.*

To the south-west of Ch'üan-chou there are two gates, one called the Water Gate (水門), and the other called the New Gate (新門). On the road to the Water Gate are to be found traces of the great shipping establishments of the Sung, Yüan, and Ming dynasties, and of the maritime customs house, together with an ancient stele with extremely worn and indistinct Arabic lettering.

Outside the New Gate there is a stone bridge, called "Floating Bridge (浮橋)" or "Flowing Bridge (通濟)". It was one of the ten great stone bridges of the city in the Southern Sung dynasty. Nearby there is a stone conical pillar, which is in fact a phallic stone used in Hindu worship, and similar to those connected with Śaivism common throughout Southern India.

From his survey Professor Chuang draws the conclusion that evidences of Sino-foreign cultural and trade relationships in Ch'üan-chou are prolific. He believes that further researches on the historical material already gathered will bear fruit in a more exact knowledge of a period when foreigners were welcome guests in China. We should like to know how far his research has thrown light on the Franciscan Mission, but on that point Professor Chuang's article is silent.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE ISMA'ILIS

By A. S. TRITTON

THE TWELVER SHI'Â says that the imam Ja'far al-Sadiq disinherited his son Isma'il for drunkenness and gave the succession to another, Musa al-Kazim. Others argued that once an imam always an imam and continued to recognize Isma'il. Prof. Bernard Lewis has pointed out that there are hints at something worse than drunkenness, perhaps heresy. Sunni writers represent the Isma'ilis as godless with seven stages of initiation leading up to a repudiation of all religion but this is due to a misunderstanding and to the belief that every secret doctrine must be evil. Till recently, the Isma'ilis kept their books hidden from the profane and this secrecy still persists but some of their books have now been published though the texts are usually corrupt and need the oral tradition of interpretation to explain them fully.

The doctrine is a mixture. The philosophy is the usual brand of Neo-Platonism current among the Arabs, with variations. God cannot be known; it cannot be said that He is or that He is not because His existence is other than any existence which men can understand. The highest which human reason can reach is the first reason which is created and not an emanation from the absolute. The argument is that the source of an emanation must be complex because it both resembles the emanation and is different from it, therefore, the first reason must be created. On the other hand:—To ask how the first thing came into being is impossible because intelligences are posterior to it. Reason, when it asks what comes before it, is at a loss for it needs to get outside itself and in so doing becomes ignorance. If an intelligence could and did acquire this knowledge, it could create out of nothing, just as a craftsman can make things in spite of obstacles.

What follows the first reason is an emanation from it; the world soul, eight other spheres with their intelligences and the four elements. Details are not always consistent; the most elaborate account does not use the term "world soul" which elsewhere is applied to the tenth reason (intellect), the immediate governor of the sublunary world, the "active reason" of the philosophers. It seems that "active reason" is not known to this sect. The technical

term for "creation" comes from the root which gave orthodox theologians their name for "heresy"; it means "to innovate". This philosophy and cosmology are proved true because they are parallel to the religious system.

The first existent as reason is connected with the absolute; as the object of reason it is connected with its own essence by comprehending it. So it has two aspects:—

(1) as reason, the higher aspect, it is the Pen (Koran 68, I).

(2) as reasoned, it is potential reason and receptive; it is the Tablet (Koran 85, 22) and matter (ʿlāḥ).

As No. 1 it is agent; as No. 2 it is potential, something done. Its comprehension of itself is not something lower than itself, e.g. like the production of matter. It is the unmoved mover; what is below it strives upwards to it in desire. There is nothing above it which it can desire.

This first existent is the first reason (intelligence), created but not from substance, active but not in a substance separate from itself. It is the noblest of all that is created so its thought must be the noblest of all thoughts, i.e. it thinks only itself. It must be perfect, otherwise there would be defect in the absolute, unchangeable and therefore not of this material world and unique, for if there were another perfect being, the first existent would be perfect in some aspects only, not in all. It had a beginning but has no end; it has life with all that life involves, it is the first *ḥadd* (see below), the proximate angel (Koran 4, 170) and the Pen. In its essence it is the deed, the doer, and the thing done.

Another formulation. It has two aspects, as thinker and object of thought; No. 1 is nobler than No. 2 and is unique; No. 2 is a pair and produces two:—

(a) reason in act, the first emanation, the Pen (cf. above).

(b) potential reason which is matter and form, being double like the two aspects from which it came; it is the Tablet.

It does not proceed from the first existent by direct intention. (All this is proved by the analogy in religion of the Speaker.)

The first existent has one essence but ten aspects; truth or fact, first existent, one, perfect, complete, eternal, intelligent, wise, strong, and alive. The second existent has all these. The first aim of the first intelligence is to consider itself, not to produce something else; it acts through the second existent.

Several worlds are distinguished. The creational includes the fundamentals of the universe so it corresponds more or less to a world of Platonic ideas. Other names for it are the holy world, that of reason and that of spirit. The creational carcass, possessed by the universal Adam, is the origin of mankind. The form of this world is a stature like the letter *alif*, an upright straight line. It includes the intelligences of the spheres from the third to the ninth; the work of these seven *karūbī* (cherub) intelligences is to praise and magnify the creator beside looking after their own spheres and those below them; they are in the spiritual world and influence the corporeal. "Karūbī is explained as coming from a root meaning "trouble"; they have passed beyond all anxiety.

The world beneath the sphere of the moon is the world of nature, of becoming and decay, the corporeal. Arabic has two words for body and makes two adjectives, *jirmānī* and *jismānī*, and distinguishes two worlds; which is more than I can do.

The world of religion is parallel both to the spiritual and to the natural world.

Sometimes Islam comes into its own. When God wills a thing, He says to it "Be" (*kun*), which, of course, has only two letters which are written. The K and N have a cabbalistic value. The divine command is a mystery hidden between the K and N which correspond to the Pre-cedent and the Follower; K is an upper letter which helps, N a lower which asks for help. The active upper Letters are proximate angels, the earliest emanations from the first emanation, the Follower, which is sometimes called the world soul; they are disembodied intelligences. By a Letter an act proceeds from its author, the form from matter, the effect from its cause and the soul from reason.

The universe including the second existent does not arise from the first by direct intention. Some things are by direct intention; e.g. the place of the sun in the fourth sphere is to make animal life possible; were it in the highest sphere, the earth would be too cold and, if in the lowest, it would be too hot for them.

The emanation, which is indicated by the Tablet receives from the Pen forms which are called matter.

REVELATION

It makes known universals and works in several ways.

- (1) It does not work through a sensory medium but comes

as light from the holy world brought by an angel. It may be compared to sparks and is the highest form.

(2) Through a sensory medium.

(a) Peculiar to one person who sees or hears while those near by perceive nothing. This is called *khiyāl* (imagination).

(b) Common to all men though only those confirmed in religion know the implications of the message; e.g. the evidence of creation to the creator. There are forty-six modes of this form of revelation.

If the means of revelation know not what they do, it is called *fath* "opening".

This idea of revelation is taken from the Koran (42, 50) God speaks by suggestion, from behind a veil or by sending a messenger. The three are :

(1) *Jidd* (exertion) manifests rational forms by means of the world soul, is submissive to it and admits its inability to apprehend the being of the eternal cause. It reveals universals which need to be explained by particulars and may come to worthy souls in waking or sleep.

(2) *Fath* comes from behind the veil and is less than *jidd*; it brings images which, like writing, convey meaning. One, who is confirmed in his faith and illumined from the holy world, understands from it what others do not.

(3) *Khiyāl* is a subtle self-existent something; it is like the imam who puts into the soul of the Argument divine effects and rational knowledge which guide to spiritual places without any corporeal medium. It comes to sight or hearing, perhaps in the shape of a man who is the holy spirit, Gabriel. The sensations of the recipient are as vivid as dreams and he converses with angels, being like them in perfection as he is an emanation and illumined. The body of such an one sometimes rebels against the message.

RELIGION

There are six epochs (*dawr*) each of a thousand years in the life of the world and each begins with an apostle called in the language of the sect a Speaker (*nāṭiq*); they are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad who with the Mahdi make up the

mystic seven. Between them are thirty prophets. Under each Speaker is a Foundation (*asās*) who is to him as the female to the male; their names Seth, Shem, Joshua, Simon, Peter, and 'Ali, who is also called the Door (*bāb*). Another version omits Seth because Adam did not bring a law and therefore had no need of a Foundation. The Foundation is also called the Silent. Apparently belonging to another cycle of ideas, the understudy of a prophet is a Delegate (*waṣī*); thus 'Ali was the Delegate of Muhammad. In the last epoch which began with Muhammad, the leadership in religion belongs to the imam who is the descendant of 'Ali, the Foundation. Each imam has his Argument (*ḥujja*) who stands to him in much the same relation as the Foundation to the Speaker and under him are Preachers (*dā'irī*) with two lower grades. Starting from the Speaker there are seven grades of believers. This epoch ends with the Mahdi who is sometimes named the Finisher (*mutimm*) and he with the six imams are the seven *mathānī* of Koran 15, 87.

A favourite term is *ḥadd* (edge, limit, definition); it is defined as the organized hierarchy of religious teachers but this applies only to the lower Ḥadds. These are the saints; or, the seven grades of believers; or, the tenth and last of the lower Ḥadds, the Mahdi with the prophet, Delegate and the seven imams; or, the nine or twelve corporeal Ḥadds (I cannot find out who or what these are).

There is no road to knowledge of the upper Ḥadds except through the corporeal. God made the upper Ḥadds intermediaries between Him and His creation. The first intelligence is the first Ḥadd; the Word, Pre-cedent and Follower are three others though some omit the Word. Others are the three forms of revelation, sometimes termed spiritual Ḥadds. They are also called *karūbī*. They are seven or five; in the latter case they are the first existent the Pen, the receiver of forms the Tablet and the three modes of revelation. True worship is by knowledge of the spiritual Ḥadds, the angels. The lower are parallel to the upper so the prophet corresponds to the universal reason, the attributes of which are transferred to the prophet and to his deputy, the imam. 'Ali himself was not an imam.

In the world of body (nature) the Speaker has two aspects; to the holy world, because his nobility, which is his second perfection, comes from it; and to the natural world because his essence, which is his first perfection, comes from it.

In the world of religion he is the beginning of his epoch and all others in it depend on him. He is perfect and cannot lose his

perfection so corresponds to the first existent in the creational world. When he comes into this world, its substances come to rest and divine confirmation comes to his Foundation from the Follower by the three modes of revelation. In the sphere of law and enactment he is the principle in which the Ḥadds are consummated and from which the book exists. He needs no help in drawing men into the fold of religion.

MAN

The soul has come down into this world and its duty is to rise again. The movement of the senses to receive external forms is the cause of imagination ; these perceptions and the soul form one, a sensational soul which tends downwards unless supported from without. The soul is one of which the vegetal, animal, and rational are facets. Reason and it are simple substances ; soul derives from reason by a Letter, like any effect from its cause, submits to it and manifests rational forms by making corporeal combinations. Or, the soul is intellect which receives form ; the spirit is the form and soul and spirit become one. The permanence of the soul is due to a supply of knowledge from the source of revelation for, when a man obeys the call of faith, he obtains a lasting form which unites with the soul in the hereafter and is the cause of his reward. In the hereafter the holy spirit gives life to the soul. In the sphere of reason the understanding soul and the thing understood are one but in the realm of matter, two. Again, the soul is life taken out of the world of nature, ascending to the figures like the letter *alif* and spirit is a substance (or, help) coming from the holy world through the Ḥadds, which joins souls to save them from the darkness of the bodies wherein they are bound.

The first perfection is the human form, given by the medium of the spheres and elements through the power of growth ; the second perfection is given by providence through the Ḥadds by means of religious duties and true allegorical knowledge which are possible only to sincere devotion. An infant is a potential soul.

PARALLELS

Correspondences play a great part in the doctrine ; the tides symbolize fluctuations in the success of Isma'ili preaching.

When the absolute created the subtle spiritual and the dense material worlds and produced various creatures, mineral, vegetable,

and animal, which culminate in the creational body and the cream of men, the best of them were twenty-eight persons (or, classes) by whom the mercy of God and knowledge of Him reached men. A symbol of these is the alphabet of twenty-eight letters by which any language can be learned and to which there can be no addition. But five spiritual letters are added to these, making a total of thirty-three, sufficient for all tongues. The best of the twenty-eight is that who (or, which) is the beginning of thought and the end of action to whom moving things move and in whom immovable things rest, possibilities become actual and the office of imam becomes a cause, a natural and religious bond, a divine vehicle and a human covering.

The moon receives light from the sun in twenty-eight stations, so the alphabet has twenty-eight letters.

RELIGION

Knowledge of the unity of God ; its angels abide in the presence of the imam who fixes the Hadds.

The Argument of the great imam ; the mahdi ; his angels are the Hadds ; he is their abode.

Exoteric knowledge ; its angels are men versed in the knowledge of revelation.

The several Ma'dhūn.

Simple believers.

Ma'dhūn, in whose soul religious ideas (images) grow.

Preachers.

Speaker stands in two relations ; to the world of spirit, to that of body.

Delegate in two relations ; appointed by designation (*naṣṣ*), as deputy.

The book is the source of laws from which the imams bring all knowledge. Six laws ; Adam brought the first and Muhammad the last.

Law and obedience to it.

CREATION

Spiritual world with its angels ; its abode is in the Pre-cedent.

Existence in the presence of the Follower ; its abode is the Tablet.

Jirmānī world situated in the outermost sphere.

The four elements ; the first is ether, the fiery ; the angels are djinn.

Metals.

Plants.

Animals.

First existent in two ; to the absolute, to its own essence.

Second existent in act is like the Delegate, in potentiality is like matter which corresponds to the book.

Matter is the material of the heavens, earth and all creatures.

Six metals, tin, lead, copper, iron, silver, gold.

Body through which the soul works.

RELIGION

Worship, external, and internal.
Seven Speakers and seven
imams.

Twelve Preachers and twelve
veils.

The Speaker instructs the
Delegate who is the place where
his knowledge sets.

The Foundation looks to the
Speaker as the place where his
knowledge rises.

The Speaker moves himself.

Four ranks are below the imam,
three teaching and taught, one
(the simple believer) taught.

CREATION

Night and day.
Seven planets and seven
spheres.

Seven powers in the body,
attractive, holding, digestive, re-
pelling, feeding, growing, imagina-
tive.

Twelve months, signs of the
zodiac and orifices of the body.

The outer sphere moves to the
west.

The second sphere moves to the
east.

The outer sphere moves itself.

Four substances are below the
spheres, three active and passive,
fire, air, and water ; one passive,
earth.

RELIGION

Religion is the opposite of nature for what comes first in it is last in nature and *vice versa*. Creative reason is first in nature and the last in religion ; perceptions are first in religion and reasons are apprehended last. Man is responsible only for what he knows and understands but he must know how he has come short in his duty and overtake it by repentance. If God takes a virtuous man to heaven, he must also take his teacher—unless some deadly sin prevents it. The righteous are punished for venial sins in this world though the wicked may escape here. As the believer performs the double worship ; externally by deeds in accord with the law which produce virtue and suppress vice, and internally by full knowledge of phenomena, the decrees of God, His angels, books, prophets, and apostles, and by obedience which gives knowledge of what has gone before and comes after, he deserves to live near to God. The believer rises from allegorizing the knowledge of customs and duties to knowledge of the great epochs and what is above the angels. Knowledge of the great and small epochs, the judgment, reward, punishment, heaven, and hell is necessary (intuitive) like knowing that twice three is six. Man cannot reach this till he is no longer dependent on sensations and is obedient to the law.

Religion has two bases, the book and the Foundation who preserves

the book; the Foundation is complete in essence but imperfect in act for he needs the book and the law through which he works on men. The lower Hadds need a teacher; prophets, Delegates and imams are men in act. Possibility of being is the first perfection, then something is added which turns the possibility into necessity, the second perfection. The soul at the stage of sensation is a material (ʿulāḡ) intelligence, a term not confined to the Isma'ilis.

Scholars of the crowd, i.e. all except the Isma'ilis, are blind and right guidance contradicts what the crowd has agreed on.

In addition to publishing the message, it is the duty of the preacher to correct his charges, if necessary punishing them by sending them to Coventry, testing them in their persons or property, disgracing them in public or private, flogging them or putting them to death and trying the nearest relative or friend by making him the executioner.

The Isma'ili world was divided into twelve provinces, called islands, each under a Preacher.

THE MAHDI

The coming of the Mahdi, the last of the imams, was foretold by all Speakers, apostles, and prophets; he comes, goes into occultation and then comes again. Each imam had an adversary but he is too powerful for any to oppose him. He is one of the gates of paradise, is all purity and light and the object of his coming is to draw out the best that is in the world and raise it with himself into the upper world. One view is that his followers are united with him—almost into one person for he is the universal soul. At his appearance his enemies are slain and noxious animals perish. The common opinion is that he will take over the task of the tenth intelligence, the ruler of this world, though another raises him to the rank of second existent above the seven karūbīs and the twelve spirituals which are Jidd, Faṭḡ, Khīyāl, Munkar, and Nakīr (the agents of punishment in the tomb), Rīḡwān and Mālīk (rulers of hell), *malakūt*, Khidr, a living one and a giver of life.

Another view is that the tenth intelligence works for the deliverance of those who have descended into matter and delivers the Mahdi; he in turn delivers one whom he leaves as his deputy in the world. As a rule the Mahdi brings in the end of the world; apparently it continues after him. This extract from a versified account of Isma'ili doctrine seems to refer to the Mahdi.

The cream of the bodies' parts, the "wind-soul" the most subtle part of man after the soul, ascended on the third day to the plain of the world of super-bodies and reached the land of bliss at the end of the appointed time. It was cast down from high heaven into pure water or a most useful tree, vine, apple, or palm, falling like dew. The most pure leader fed on it though no other gave heed to it; his wife fed on some of this exalted matter till, when the leader had intercourse with the virgin and they met in marriage (a duty none can refuse) for they—being among men as a ruby among stones—were akin to them so that offspring was possible. Both brought out to the pure place what remained in them of this noble cream. She waited till the term of the months when the creation of the fragrant (?) form was complete and the Creator allowed it to pass from the darkness of the womb into the free air. This was the desired climax at the stage of unity—fixed, made known, obeyed. Humanity was made one with deity at the appointed time. . . . The temple (? body) of this first leader was raised to the highest place, near to the One, the Hearer, the Lord of the world of nature. This is far from orthodox Islam.

THE IMAM.

For the ordinary believer the imam was the source of religion. The imam sees by divine illumination, he is a sign, name, and ideal of God who can be approached only through him; to obey him is to obey God. Without him there is neither mercy nor pardon; by knowledge of him those, who are saved, are saved and for lack of it those perish who perish. Though he knows all, the believer ought to tell him all about himself and no criticism of him is permitted. No one may teach anyone about religion without the permission of the prophet's deputy. The imam unites in his person the offices which guard the law and spread knowledge of it. The believer derived from the Preacher, the Preacher from the Argument, the Argument from the imam, the imam from the Foundation and he from the Speaker. This hierarchy had always been; thus Adnan, an ancestor of the northern Arabs, was imam after Moses and Shu'aib was his Argument. In the Koran Shu'aib was a prophet. The imams are the children of the Foundation, in this epoch, of 'Ali. When Muhammad went up to heaven he saw an angel exactly like 'Ali. He was told that the angels were so eager to see 'Ali that God created this angel to satisfy their desire.

One, who has the right to speak to the imam, may speak to him directly, others must ask leave. It is a duty to thank these agents of God's goodness and to obey them till any initial unwillingness becomes delight in service and doubt becomes knowledge or, at least, admission of ignorance in face of their higher knowledge. The law is that one-fifth of all booty belongs to the prophet; all earnings are booty so one-fifth must be given to the imam. He is more troubled for what his followers suffer for God's sake from their enemies than are the followers themselves.

The imam is manifested in his unitary substantiality in the epoch of manifestation and is hidden in his binary stage, the stage of the apostles in the epoch of occultation. As numbers are derived from the unit, so apostles originate from the imam who is in the beginning in the epoch of manifestation and finally end in him in that of occultation.

The imam is from the command (of God), His veil who appears with Him in this world is the excellent human person. Through him apostles are sent, prayers are oriented, laws imposed, and he is the command of the great Lord, his universal generosity, the guarded substance, the hidden secret, the source of created things, the cause of all inventions, the leader of those who know things human and divine, the light of wanderers, in whom is the light of all. By him the worlds of nature and religion are ordered, for our deliverance he dwelt in the lower existence and became friendly to us in one of us.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Near and Middle East

ISLAMIC OCCASIONALISM; AND ITS CRITIQUE BY AVERROËS AND AQUINAS.
By M. FAKHRY. pp. 220. George Allen and Unwin, 1958. sh. 21.

One side of Muslim life was strife between religion and philosophy; the second taught that the world was eternal, the first that it was created. To support their belief the religious said that there was no causal connection between phenomena, which lasted only for a moment, that God was the only agent and was continually creating everything anew. This is the occasionalism of the title. The philosophers, whose faith was usually suspect, opposed this atomism. Averroës and Maimonides were the most severe critics of these doctrines. They argued that the reduction of the world and of man to an exhibition of divine activity where all was arbitrary custom did not add to the glory of God but made it impossible for man to know Him. Still less did the arguments of the religious prove that the world was created. The religious stressed the will of God, the philosophers His wisdom but neither gave a reason why He should have created anything; it was left to Aquinas to show that it was due to His overflowing goodness. This is not a book to be read in a bus; in much of it the author has dealt with abstruse subjects in plain language but elsewhere small deviations from English usage make it hard to follow the argument. There are some misprints and the repetition of "as it were" suggests that the author was not entirely sure of himself. A book to be studied.

A. S. TRITTON.

KITĀBU 'L-ḤAWĪ FĪ 'Ṭ-TĪBB. By MUḤAMMAD B. ZAKARĪYYA AR-RĀZĪ.
Three parts, pp. 290, 269, 297. Osmania Oriental Publications
Bureau, Hyderabad. 1955.

The text here presented is different from that behind the Latin version of the thirteenth century, showing both additions and omissions. On common ground the Latin sometimes agrees with variants given in the notes to this edition; p. 30, l. 8, *mi'da* but *maq'ada* in margin and Latin f. 1 v; and p. 40, l. 10 omits the *yahūdī* of the margin, the *Judaeus* of the Latin f. 2r. The book is little more than a list of diseases and remedies for them, working from the head downwards; these three parts deal with complaints of the head and teeth. Much of it is quotation from earlier doctors though ar-Rāzī does not hesitate to express his own opinion; thus he spurns an Indian idea that headache may be caused by worms in the head. The text is said to be based on several MSS. but only one is named.

A. S. TRITTON.

LE SYSTÈME PHILOSOPHIQUE DES MU'TAZILA (PREMIERS PENSEURS DE L'ISLAM). By A. N. NADER. pp. 354. Beyrouth: Éditions les Lettres Orientales, 1956.

KITĀB AL INTIŠĀR. By AL-KHAYYĀT. Translated by A. N. NADER. pp. 175 + 156. Same publisher. 1957.

The group of thinkers known as the Mu'tazila called themselves the "people of unity and justice", unity meaning that God is one and indivisible. Dr. Nader derives their whole system of thought from these two principles. Earlier members of the group held that man by the use of reason could and must know about God and that revelation could only corroborate reason and not contradict it; later, some taught that revelation could add to what reason knew, so that it was said of one, "had he had God's grace, he had been orthodox." As the Koran applies many adjectives to God, powerful, seeing, hearing, etc., popular Islam was led by the Arab worship of words to say that, as God knows, He must have knowledge, so they postulated a quasi-independent existence for this divine knowledge. The Mu'tazila regarded this as an infringement of the divine unity and therefore denied this quasi-independence. Consequently, they could not admit that the Koran, the word of God, which had a separate existence, was in His essence from all eternity; so they said that it was created and this became one of the chief accusations against them. The uniqueness of God made it hard to explain creation; a creator could only make something which in some way was like himself but "He is like nothing else and nothing is like Him", so some argued that everything in the world had had some kind of being before it was created, that "the non-existent is a thing", and creation meant that God gave reality to these airy nothings. The physical world went its own way once it was created, cause and effect being determined by the nature of things. Interest in physics was limited to its bearing on metaphysics.

The idea of justice made the Mu'tazila insist on the freedom of the will; God could not reward the good and punish the bad if men were only machines moved by a higher power. The author contradicts himself; in one place he speaks of men creating their actions and in another that men make decisions which set external forces in motion, they do not create their acts. He remarks that the Mu'tazila anticipated Kant in building much of their system on the basis of morals. According to the orthodox the freedom of the will meant that man created his acts, so the Mu'tazila, who believed in millions of creators, were worse than the Magians and Christians who believed in two and three respectively. All authorities say that the problem of sinning Muslims was one of the chief concerns of the Mu'tazila; Dr. Nader repeats this statement at the beginning of his book and says nothing about it; apparently it was not as important as it is said to have been. The author seems not to know the latest work done in France and England and it may be

that he rates the Mu'tazila too highly as thinkers. He often refers to resemblances to early Greek thought though it is doubtful if they are due to borrowing. The Arabs kept the ideas of soul and spirit separate (though the dividing line was uncertain); Dr. Nader confuses them. The doctrine of capacity (*istiṭā'a*) is omitted; it is the application of power to a particular act and, as will directs power, capacity is a superfluous notion. There are signs of carelessness; the same man appears as Abū 'l-Hudhayl, Abu'l-Hudhayl, Abul-Hudhayl, and A. Hudhayl. One may not always agree with the writer but one cannot deny that he has written a careful and thought-provoking book.

The Mu'tazila were condemned as heretics, so their books disappeared and most of what we know of them is derived from their opponents. Only one of their books has survived and that is a refutation of a refutation. This was published some years ago by Nyberg with a valuable preface in Arabic. Dr. Nader has republished this text with a translation of it and of the preface. There is only one MS. of the book. The editor has changed Nyberg's text in one place, certainly rightly and his version is readable. Sometimes it is open to criticism; an active verb is turned into the passive, a plural is translated as singular (with a loss to the sense), and the third line of the verse on p. 81/68 is not understood; it should be: What has Jahm to do with the pious and learned 'Amr? The editor has numbered the sections and instead of explanations has given references to the *Système*. Some notes on the text would have been welcome but it is churlish to end with a complaint.

A. S. TRITTON

QUMRAN STUDIES (Scripta Judaica II). By C. RABIN. pp. ix + 135.
Oxford University Press, 1957.

Professor Rabin makes here an extremely interesting contribution to Qumran literature. His thesis may be summarized in his own words: "The Qumran sect . . . were . . . a diehard Pharisaic group trying to uphold 'genuine' Pharisaism (as they understood it) against the more flexible ideology introduced by the Rabbis in authority." He differs, then, sharply from the commonly-accepted identification of the sect as a group of Essenes. His arguments are built, not upon a reconstruction of its history from the personalities mentioned in the Qumran texts, but upon an analysis of its practices and doctrines.

This approach has much to commend it. In certain respects the practices of Qumran are at variance with those of the Essenes—so far as we can judge from our scanty information on the latter. Readers will admire the dexterity of Rabin's arguments and the great learning with which they are advanced. Yet some—like the present reviewer—will remain unconvinced. To mention a few points only. Did the

Qumran sectarians really maintain private property? Reliable archaeological evidence is lacking. At Qumran the priesthood played a prominent part, but not among the Pharisees. The role of the meal in sacral societies is too primitive and too general to attach great weight to analogies between such Qumran practices and those of the *haburah*. And would committees formed of only one in every ten members be called the "Session of the Many"?

Yet scholars have good reason to be grateful to Professor Rabin. To many he will have opened an approach to that vast field of Rabbinic literature that should be familiar to the student of the Qumran texts. Most important, he has shown in this stimulating volume how largely the Qumran doctrines and practices reflect the general theological climate of Jewish Palestine—an axiom that cannot be repeated too often.

J. B. SEGAL.

MATERIALS ON MUSLIM EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By A. S. TRITTON. pp. xii + 201. Luzac, London, 1957.

The fruit of much and varied reading is presented in Professor Tritton's *Materials*; these contain many good quotations, numerous sayings embodying attitudes, principles, almost philosophies of education. The classification is under twelve headings, but the text does not actually read as a connected whole, and a number of sub-headings would have made reference easier. This must be regarded as a reference book for orientalists, as it does not present a coherent picture explained for the ready understanding of the layman, and it is a pity, therefore, that considerations of bulk made it essential to cut down references to such a minimum.

Professor Tritton considers it surprising that the school teacher should be despised in Islamic society, but where the *elementary* teacher is concerned this attitude must be nearly universal, and is to be explained in part by the teacher's own poor qualifications and background. A sharp distinction is drawn between 'ilm and paedagogy, a situation very clearly expressed in *al-Aiyām*. To the influential classes of hereditary scholarship even in the most advanced Muslim countries, the bulk of Koran school teachers, being of neither great intelligence nor social standing and usually at best but simple pious souls, they are contemptible. They are classed with the weaver, an epithet in Arabia to-day, in the *Ḥadīth*, and in *al-Djāhīz*, of contempt for an inferior class.

Worthy of comment are, a contract (p. 25) for teaching the Koran, where incidentally reddish corn probably means red *dhurah* as opposed to white, and a licence for teaching poetry from Spain, though one would like a fuller reference than the British Museum catalogue number. In Arabia it is still an attitude, albeit of conservative Muslims, that women should not be taught to write, and (p. 101) it is interesting that

a scholar should teach in the *mihrāb*, for the reviewer has been invited to some older mosques in Mombasa where the teacher reading a learned book still sits with his back to the *mihrāb* and with the students in ranks facing him. It is most significant that the *Dīwāns* of eighty tribes should have been kept in the mosque at Kufah for this gives us some notion of how early poetry was preserved, but no reference to the source is given at all!

On the problems of usage of certain terms the following suggestions are offered. *Rutbah* (p. 129) means primarily a "rank" and then the emolument which goes with that rank. *Muwaṣṣilat al-ṣuḥur* remains somewhat of a puzzle, but might it not mean something to do with the binding of books and stipend attached to this post? The word *naqīb* has many senses, but a *naqīb* was generally a man of some importance. On p. 106, for example, the *naqīb* of a Yemenite college was more likely to have been something like a bursar or manager, and a *qaiyim* not a servant, but a steward. The *naqīb* is a term used for the representative of a *Ṣūfī shāikh* in remoter villages where he seems to have dealt with contributions in kind by his followers. Forts in the Yemen were also in charge of a *naqīb* sometimes. A *qaiyim* was generally in charge of a shrine, but would have servants under him.

R. B. SERJEANT.

CURRENT RESEARCH ON THE MIDDLE EAST, 1956. Ed. by WILLIAM SANDS AND JOHN HARTLEY. pp. viii + 90. The Middle East Institute, Washington D.C., 1957.

"This volume," say the editors, "is a continuation of the annual survey, initiated last year, of research on the Middle East being carried on by scholars in the United States and Canada, Great Britain, Europe, and the Middle East."

The book is in three sections. The first (pp. 1-56) contains statements submitted by scholars and others, in the prescribed form, on work in hand or projected. It is divided into geography, archaeology (with epigraphy and numismatics), history (general, ancient, medieval, modern, subdivided by countries), political science (government, politics, and international relations), economics, demography, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, psychology, law (ancient, Islamic, modern), thought (with philosophy and religion, subdivided into Judaism, Samaritan Religion, "Intertestamental studies," Eastern Christianity, Islam, and modern thought and religion), Belles-Lettres, art and architecture, history of science, language (general, grammar and dialects, philology, lexicography), and finally manuscript catalogues. The second and third sections (pp. 57-72 and 73-82) are an innovation; they contain further statements on projects announced in the previous year. Section two reports progress; section three announces or promises publication.

In the first volume of the series, 1,008 projects were described. The second volume brings the total up to 1,335. Of the first series 78 can now report progress; 102 give information about publication—complete or partial, achieved or anticipated.

Another innovation in the second volume is that scholars in Eastern Europe have now been included. Those of non-Islamic Asia and of Africa remain outside.

B. LEWIS.

OSMANLI TARİHİ. Vol. VII. ISLAHAT FERMANI DEVRI 1861-1876. By ENVER ZİYA KARAL. pp. xiv + 389. 5 plates, 2 tables. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından XIII seri—No. 16g. Dünya Tarihi. Ankara, 1956. 12 TL.

One of the more ambitious projects of the Turkish Historical Society is a world history, to be written in many volumes. The history is planned as a series of separate and self-contained works, each dealing with a different area and period, and written by a different author. An important place is naturally given to the Ottoman Empire, the history of which has been assigned to two scholars, Professor İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, for the period from the origins until the accession of Selim III, and Professor Enver Ziya Karal, for the remainder. Two volumes of Professor Karal's history of the Ottoman Empire in modern times have already appeared—on the period 1789-1856 (in 1947) and on the period 1856-1861 (in 1954). In this new volume, no. 7 of the Ottoman history and no. 16 of the world history, Professor Karal continues his story down to the accession of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II in 1876. The book thus covers two reigns, those of 'Abd al-'Azīz and of Murād V. It is divided into three sections. The first (pp. 1-112) contains a narrative of events from the accession to the deposition of 'Abd al-'Azīz, and is chiefly concerned with what is usually called the Eastern Question—revolts in Montenegro, Crete, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria, negotiations on the Roumanian and Egyptian questions, and relations with the Great Powers. The second part (pp. 113-351) examines the course of the Tanzīmāt reforms in the same period, with some reference to earlier developments. It deals in separate chapters with the Sublime Porte, the religious institution, civil administration, the armed forces, justice, finance, etc. Some attention is also given to economic and social developments. The third section (pp. 352-367) deals with the brief reign of Murād V, and ends with his deposition. The author has added a chronology of events, a bibliography, an index, and two useful synoptic tables, one of the westernising reforms and the other of the railways.

B. LEWIS.

RÂHAT-ÜS-SUDÛR VE AYET-ÜS-SÜRÛR. By MUHAMMAD B. ALI B. SÜLEYMAN ER-RÂVENDÎ, translated into Turkish by AHMED ATEŞ. Vol. I (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından II. Seri, No. 14), xxxi + 238 pp., Ankara, 1957.

Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-Sudūr*, the history of the Great Saljuqs from the beginning of the dynasty to the year 595/1199, is especially important for the reigns of the last two sultans, whose contemporary the author was. The unique and early MS. was edited by Muḥammad Iqbāl for the Gibb Memorial Series (N.S. II, 1921), but the gist of the diffuse and discursive text had previously been known to English readers from E. G. Browne's summary published in the 1902 volume of this *Journal*.

Professor Ateş now offers to Turkish readers a smooth, clear, and as far as possible literal translation made from the GMS edition, this volume, the first of two, containing the translation of the editor's preface and of the text to p. 249. For the most part also Professor Ateş has translated Muḥammad Iqbāl's notes: only occasionally does he add his own comments and suggestions. On one point we might well have looked to a Turkish scholar for enlightenment. The "anonymous author" (now known to be Yaziji-oghlu 'Alī) of the Turkish *Seljūq-nāme* composed in the reign of Murād II, of which M. Iqbāl speaks at p. xxxvi, incorporated in his compilation a translation of part of Rāwandī's history (to p. 128 of the GMS text, cf. P. Wittek in *BSOAS.*, xiv, p. 643). It would be interesting to know whether he followed Rāwandī closely. And if so, would not this early translation have provided a useful control for part of the Persian text?

V. L. MÉNAGE.

KÂTİP ÇELEBİ: HAYATİ VE ESERLERİ HAKKINDA İNCELEMELER (*Studies on the life and works of Kâtip Çelebi*): (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından VII. Seri, No. 33) 225 pp., Ankara, 1957.

The Turkish Historical Association has issued this volume to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the death of the famous Turkish polymath, better known in Europe as Hajji Khalfa. The first section, "Kâtip Çelebi's life, personality and works," by Orhan Şaik Gökyay, is an expanded version of the same author's exhaustive article in the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, to which he has added a survey of the MSS. (particularly those in Istanbul) of the twenty-one works that came from Kâtip Çelebi's prolific pen. The second section, "Studies on Kâtip Çelebi's works," consists of articles by Mükrimin Halil Yinanç (on the contents and sources of his universal history in Arabic, *Fadhlakat aqwāl al-akḥyār*), M. Tayyib Gökbilgin (a description of his chronological work, *Taqwīm al-tawārīkh*), Hâmit Sadi Selen (on the different recensions and the importance of his geography, *Jihān-numā*), A. Süheyl Ünver (on a MS.

of one of K.Ç.'s sources for the description of China in *Jihān-numā*), Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu (on a short astronomical treatise, *Ilhām al-muqaddas*, with a facsimile and transcription of the text), and Hilmi Ziya Ülken (on K.Ç.'s outlook, particularly as revealed in his *Mizān al-ḥaqq*). The third section contains a second article by M. T. Gökbilgin, in which he discusses K.Ç.'s place among seventeenth century diagnosticians of the ills of the Ottoman State and reviews his predecessors and their prescriptions; it concludes with a series of quotations from standard reference works.

The book contains, perhaps unavoidably, much repetition, but offers the reader much new information on the remarkable and attractive personality it commemorates.

V. L. MÉNAGE.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE GEORGIAN MONARCHY, 1658-1832. By DAVID MARSHALL LANG. Columbia University Press, New York, 1957. 8vo., cloth, xiv, 333, 4 plates, and map. 45s.

The first English scholar since the Wardrops to have acquired a thorough familiarity with the Georgian language, Dr. Lang has, during the last few years, made some distinguished contributions to Georgian studies on patristic, numismatic, and literary themes.

The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy cover nearly two centuries. More than a third of the book describes the period of "The Mukhranian Viceroys" (1658-1723) when a cadet branch of the Georgian royal house ruled in Tiflis as deputies of the Safavid shahs but with the Georgian style of *mépé* ("king"). As the author indicates (Chapters 3 and 6), Georgia gained many advantages from the close association with Safavid Persia, and Georgians came to play an important and, often, dynamic role in the political and military life of the empire. In 1723, in the crisis of the Safavid state, the personal choice of a Russian orientation by the K'art'lian king Wakhtang VI proved fatal to both the Safavid and Mukhranian royal houses and precipitated Russian and Ottoman intervention in Georgia and Persia with catastrophic consequences to both countries.

In the later part of the book the author describes the deterioration of conditions in the Georgian kingdoms which ended in their incorporation in the Russian empire during the first decade of the nineteenth century. The work is competently done and the author's knowledge of recent Georgian and Russian studies enables him to present a more detailed picture than has appeared hitherto in English. Some of Dr. Lang's conclusions are, perhaps, open to debate.

There is a bibliography of twenty-six pages—useful to students of Georgian history because it cites numerous Georgian and Russian books and periodical articles published in recent years and presumably

available in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. The book is published in a series of "Studies of the Russian Institute" of Columbia University. In the American fashion for academic books, it is of unattractive format and the price is high at 45s. The few illustrations are good; the map is neat but is not as useful as it could have been if it had carried all the names mentioned in the text.

W. E. D. ALLEN.

EGYPT AND SYRIA UNDER THE CIRCASSIAN SULTANS, A.D. 1382-1468. Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt (continued). By WILLIAM POPPER. pp. ix, 123. \$2.50.

HISTORY OF EGYPT, A.D. 1382-1469 (Part III, A.D. 1412-1422). Tr. from the Arabic Annals of Abu'l-Maḥasin Ibn Taghrī Birdī by WILLIAM POPPER. pp. xii, 176. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology. Vols. 16, 17.) Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957. \$3.50.

These further instalments of Professor Popper's monumental labours on Ibn Taghrī Birdī will be warmly welcomed. The first of the two volumes completes the systematic notes. It is concerned with races, tribes, personal names, titles, terms for official documents, the calendar, measures, weights, currency, exchange, food prices, incomes, fiefs and salaries. There is no index. The second volume continues the translation of the *Nujūm az Zāhira* begun in Volumes 13 and 14 of the same series. Page references to the Arabic text edited by Professor Popper in Vol. 6 are supplied in the margins. The same principles have been followed and are already familiar to scholars. The usefulness of the work is obvious and its patient scholarship deserves the highest praise. The following criticisms are concerned with minutiae. No attempt is made to give the correct forms of Turkish names which are merely transliterated as though they were Arabic; hence there is slight confusion between Azdamur (Translation, pp. 7, 9) and the more usual Uzdāmūr (p. 12 and elsewhere); they are the same name, *öz tāmīr*, *öz demir*, "real iron." At the death of Chingiz Khan the Dasht-i-Qipchaq did not become "part of the inheritance of his son" Jöchi, who had predeceased his father (Notes, p. 8). Bread made from maize cannot have been eaten in Cairo in 1470 (Notes, p. 106). *Zea mais* is a New World plant brought to Europe by Columbus on his first voyage; it is not included in the flora of Egypt by Prosper Alpini and as late as the second half of the eighteenth century was described by Forskål as growing there only "parce". In the passage in question *dhurra* must mean sorghum.

C. F. BECKINGHAM.

DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC STATE AND SOCIETY. By M. MAZHERUDDIN SIDDIQI, M.A. (McGill.) viii + 415 pp. Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1956. Rs. 10.

The author's Preface states that "This book purports to be a social and economic history of the Muslims from the days of early Islam". It is in fact a general history, primarily narrating political developments. More than half the book describes the classical period, from the Jāhiliya to the fall of the 'Abbasids. The remainder deals with the Turks, from the Saljūqs to Muṣṭafā Kemāl; Persia, Afghanistan, and the Indian sub-continent; and the penetration of the West. The final paragraphs seek to define the relations which should exist between Islam and Western civilization: the author believes that the Muslims should "incorporate as much of Western thought and institutions as fit in with the spiritual and ethical directives of Islam and . . . regard these directives as overriding principles of life to which all specific laws and social institutions of Islam must submit themselves". The bibliography and footnotes indicate that the work is based on secondary sources in English and Urdu. Frequent quotations are made from a heterogeneous range of writings. The author's description of the Orthodox Umayyad and early 'Abbasid caliphates (Preface) as "periods . . . where the political map was clear" hardly suggests that this work is profound.

P. M. HOLT.

Far East

THE AUTUMN WIND. A Selection from the Poems of Issa. By LEWIS MACKENZIE. pp. 109. Published by John Murray, London, 1957.

Although by no means the most famous writer of the Japanese seventeen-syllable *haiku* verse, Kobayashi Issa (1763-1827) repays the interest of Western readers better than almost any other. This is because so much of his poetry was directly inspired by his experiences in a life which, while it took him from a peasant family in Nagano to a position of literary fame in the capital, is characterized by sadness over his loved ones and by bitterness over his unhappy childhood and the long struggle to gain his birthright after his father's death. Most *haiku* can be seen only as the largely inexplicable reactions of their writers to outside stimulus; but knowledge of the conditions which prompted Issa's particular reactions add to the interest of his poems.

The Autumn Wind consists of a good account of Issa's life and translations of 250 of his *haiku* accompanied, some of them, by a short explanation. The translations are on the whole well done but, because the brevity of the *haiku* form makes adequate translation particularly

difficult, more frequent explanations would have been helpful. The Japanese versions of the poems are therefore doubly welcome, even though only two or three of them contain any indication of long vowels.

P. G. O'NEILL.

CHINESE SOCIETY IN THAILAND. By G. WILLIAM SKINNER. pp. xvii + 459, 6 maps, and 3 charts. Cornell University Press and Oxford University Press. £2 12s.

This is a thorough sociological study of a subject which is at once of great historical interest and of urgent practical importance for the future of all South-east Asia. The admirably presented results of researches carried out in the field during several years are a credit both to the author and the Cornell University Southeast Asia Program which sponsored him. The bibliography includes a vast array of European and Chinese sources; one can only add that access to the Thai administrative documents of early nineteenth century which exist in the Bangkok library might throw a little more light on contemporary Thai attitudes. The work deals with almost every conceivable aspect of the subject: Chinese contacts of the early centuries; immigration in more recent times, in relation to the various Chinese speech-groups concerned, and their geographical distribution; the growth of the immigrant population; labour and entrepreneurship; evolution of Chinese society *vis-à-vis* Chinese and Thai nationalism; education and assimilation; Chinese social structure and the problems of Sino-Thai relations. Tables and graphs give this fact-packed book the appearance of a work of reference, which it certainly is; but at the same time it is excellently written and very readable. The author's hopeful conclusion is that, in face of the emergence of Communist China in the background of the picture, the Thai government is now adopting moderate methods: "The indications in 1956 are that Thailand may choose to handle the Chinese Problem by attempting to obviate it through a moderate and liberal program designed to integrate the Chinese into Thai society."

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

A COMBINED INDEX OF CHINESE WORDS WITH HAKKA PRONUNCIATIONS. pp. 137. China Inland Mission, 1957.

This index, the latest of the indices to the large dictionaries giving dialect readings, arranges the characters under radicals, and for each character provides the Hakka pronunciation(s), the number in Giles' Dictionary, the page reference in Williams' Syllabic Dictionary, the number in Mathews', and the page reference to D. MacIver's Hakka

Dictionary (in the revised version by the Rev. M. C. Mackenzie, 1926). The index is based on an earlier work by MacIver, which provided references to Giles and Williams only, together with the Hakka readings. The present compilers have added all characters appearing in the Hakka Dictionary, with their readings, and the references to the dictionaries not done by MacIver. A cursory check on the references shows that the number of mistakes is few indeed. The compilers are to be congratulated on a very painstaking piece of work.

It is a pity, however, that more trouble was not taken in the notation of the readings, which often shows signs of carelessness and lack of system.

The carelessness, which produces such mistakes as e.g. p. 10, 勁 ngàng (!), kìn, or p. 17, 嚙 ngat, ngau (!), could easily have been rectified. More basic is a lack of system, especially obvious where a character has more than one reading. Here no attempt is made to indicate what the relationship is between the readings. Take the following :

p. 50, 榮 yín, yùng (difference of dialect).

p. 44, 无 mô, vù (colloquial and literary readings).

p. 48, 核 hét, fút (literary and colloquial readings, with added difference in meaning).

p. 44, 易 yì, yít (two readings, with separate meanings; i.e. two different words).

p. 45, 景 yáng, kìn (very rare reading (for 影) in classics, followed by the usual pronunciation).

With no indication of the kind of readings involved, what is a student to make of this ?

MacIver, both in his Index and in his dictionary, occasionally tried to provide both Meihsien and Sin-on Hakka readings. Unless done thoroughly and systematically, this merely results in confusion. For example :

p. 72, 眼 nyén, ngán (Meihsien followed by Sin-on form).

p. 121, 間 kán, kién (Sin-on followed by Meihsien form).

p. 22, 娟 ken (Sin-on form only).

p. 66, 現 hién (Meihsien form only).

Finally, it would seem quite pointless to give Hakka pronunciations for the excessively rare characters of Giles, and MacIver's dictionaries. Many are not to be found in any text, and there is no accepted teacher-pronunciation for them. They are of no use to a beginner, and a student advanced enough to want to study such forms should be able to find their pronunciations for himself from the *faanchieh* and homonyms in the Chinese dictionaries.

Except for the mixing of dialects, most of the faults mentioned above are to be found in all the dialect indices to Giles' dictionary. The conclusion is unavoidable that lists of readings of characters, with no indication of meaning or status (i.e. literary or colloquial)

of the readings, are of very little use. It is impossible not to feel that the enormous labour put into this Index could more usefully have been directed to the compilation of a new Hakka dictionary.

G. B. DOWNER.

CROYANCES ET PRATIQUES RELIGIEUSES DES VIETNAMIENS, Vol. 3.

By FATHER LÉOPOLD CADIÈRE. pp. 286. Paris-L'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1957.

The contents of this volume, like those of the two preceding volumes, are not new. All have been published elsewhere. Assembled in this one volume, they bear testimony to Fr. Cadière's very broad interests and to his immense knowledge of Vietnamese thought, customs, beliefs, and language. In this book there is a wealth of information of the sort not generally available to the foreign student of Viet Nam. Fr. Cadière spent sixty years in this land as a missionary and learned to speak to the common people of the villages and of the countryside in their own colloquial speech and dialects. In this way he penetrated deeper into the life of the country than, perhaps, any other foreigner. Scholars have sometimes disagreed with the conclusions which he drew from his findings, but all freely acknowledge the very great debt they owe him for the knowledge of Viet Nam which he has made available.

Fr. Cadière died shortly before the publication of the second volume of this work, and the present volume has been published posthumously. It contains a moving tribute to the life and work of this great Orientalist from Louis Malleret, former Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient, as well as a most useful bibliography of Fr. Cadière's writings.

P. J. HONEY.

RELIGIOUS STONE ENGRAVINGS OF CH'ÜAN-CHOU. (Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-k'o.) By WU WEN LIANG. Quarto. pp. 66 + 94 pages of photographic plates. Published by the K'ö Hsüeh Ch'u Pan She, Peking, Autumn, 1957, and distributed by the New China Publishing House. Price: Y4.30.

In this *Journal* for April, 1954, Professor John Foster gave an account of the post-war discovery in Ch'üan-chou, Fukien Province, China, of several inscribed gravestones of Christian origin belonging mainly to the fourteenth century. Since then a team of Chinese archaeologists has made a survey of the city and has added considerably to the earlier discoveries since I summarized their findings (*vide* pp. 165-177 of this *Journal*). Professor Foster has lent me a copy of this book, by Mr. Wu Wen Liang, in which he reproduces photographs of all the main discoveries to date together with comments in Chinese upon them, giving a brief description of each stone illustrated, an account of the date and place

of its discovery, and, wherever possible, a translation into Chinese of the inscription.

Pages 85 to 94 of the plates, however, contain twenty-five photographs of discoveries made towards the end of 1956, too late for them to be discussed in the text, but containing some material of exceptional interest, including two photographs (pl. 85) of what seem to be parts of the same inscription in an, as yet, unidentified script.

As is to be expected, most of the inscribed stones relate to Islam, the predominant foreign religious influence in the city during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In marked contrast to the grave-stones of other faiths there is an absence of symbolic representation. Usually a scroll-like surround encloses an Arabic inscription which covers almost the whole surface of the stone. On pages 21-5 the author discusses the origin of the Ch'ing Ching Ssu, a great and famous Mohammedan mosque.

Of the Christian gravestones described in chapter 2 some undoubtedly are of Nestorian origin, while others may be ascribed to the Franciscan community established in Ch'üan-chou at the beginning of the fourteenth century. No. 74 (pl. 27) is interesting as it shows a cross surmounting a winged human figure, sitting cross-legged and holding in his hands a lotus. Nos. 75, 1 and 2 (pl. 28), show the famous Latin inscription which Professor Foster discussed in his article. Unfortunately the inscription is so worn that it is doubtful if any advance can be made on Professor Foster's tentative reconstruction of the text. Nos. 76 and 77 are ascribed to Nestorianism and contain inscriptions in Syriac.

Two stones which Mr. Wu somewhat doubtfully ascribes to Manichaeism (Nos. 109 and 110) differ from the memorial stones on which the cross dominates the design and is placed at the top, for on these two stones the cross occupies the centre and is surmounted by a huge canopy with hanging tassels, while the Buddhist lotus is also prominent in the design. No. 107 depicts an undoubtedly Manichaean image, which stands in the central hall of a small monastery. Rays of light stream out in a huge circle from a bearded figure of Mani.

The chapter on Hindu remains is illustrated by several excellent photographs, many taken in the famous Buddhist K'ai Yüan monastery. Of special note is the phallic stone (No. 151), four and a half metres high, which stands near a bridge over the river and outside the ancient city walls. It is attributed to the N. Sung period.

Mr. Wu is to be congratulated on producing a volume which should prove of great interest and value to all students of religion and religious art in China. He seems to have had access to most of the literature dealing with the city of Ch'üan-chou, its long history and its important maritime connections during the Sung and Yüan dynasties, and he gives a useful list of his Chinese and English sources.

D. HOWARD SMITH.

South-East Asia

EEN 16^{DE} EEUWSE MALEISE VERTALING VAN DE BURDA VAN AL-BŪṢĪRĪ. Ed. and transl. by G. W. J. DREWES. Verhandelungen van het Kon. Inst. voor Taal-Land-en Volken-kunde. Deel XVIII, 1955.

This Malay version of the *Burda* of Al-Būṣīrī is from the only known MS., one of the Erpenius (d. 1624) collection at Cambridge. Professor Drewes provides an introduction on the history of the MS., the date of Malay translations from the Persian and Arabic, the Kasida in Indonesia, the popularity of the *Burda* and Wahhabite criticism of it. In an appendix is printed a fragment of a Malay translation of al-Ushi's *Bad' al-Amali*, from the same Cambridge MS., a work appearing also in the margin of the *Safinat al-najā'* lithographed at Singapore in 1878. In the words "Dzu'l Karnain was not a famous Prophet and still less was Lukman" (p. 98: 30) al-Ushi condemns the *Hikayat Iskandar*, from which the first ruler of Malacca (d. 1424 A.D.) took his Muslim title.

Professor Drewes says that the date of the Malay translations of the *Ht. Ganja Mara* and the *Ht. Sultan Běstammam* is unknown. Actually a MS. note by Sir William Maxwell, who in 1874 was Assistant Government Agent, Province Wellesley, and acted as Resident Councillor, Penang, from 1884 until 1889, records that "the *Ganja Mara* and the *Běstammam* were done by Saudagar Che' Teh, uncle of Penghulu Che' Sahid, for the instruction of Mr. Maingy, Superintendent of Province Wellesley, then living at Kuala Buka—he afterwards went to Burma". This makes the Malay translations the work of a *Jawi pėkan* (= *pėranakan*) in the middle or earlier half of the nineteenth century.

On p. 81 Professor Drewes omits to notice that *kėtaha* or *kutaha* occurs in the older version of the *Sějarah Mėlayu*—as well as in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*. So [*JRASMB*, XXV (1952), p. 243, note 513] does the form *g. bala* for *gėmbala*. In the *Burda* (page 46: 16) clearly *mėngėmbalikan* should read *mėngėmbalakan* and *di-kėmbalikan* be *di-gėmbalakan*.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

FIJIAN GRAMMAR. By G. B. MILNER. pp. vii + 150. Government Press, Fiji, 1956.

The student will welcome this new Grammar of Fijian, for it has been written with an eye to his particular needs. Pronunciation and grammar are arranged in twenty-one lessons, each followed by a vocabulary, list of idioms, and a set of exercises with accompanying key. Intonation patterns are analysed in an Appendix.

There is much to interest the linguist. It may well be that the most

valuable feature of this Grammar is its rejection of the traditional word-classes of noun and verb. The author has preserved the nominal/verbal dichotomy at the level of the phrase and sentence respectively, but his main word-class division is into *base* (cf. Jespersen's *full word*) and *particle* (cf. *form word*). Sub-classes of nominal and verbal particles are set up, and it is these which are used to determine and delimit phrase and sentence. The familiar divisions of noun, adjective, verb, adverb, are swallowed up in the single word-class, *base*, which partakes of the nominal or verbal nature of the piece in which it occurs.

In this way, the author has been able to make an economical and pertinent statement of Fijian grammar. Readers will be spared the disconcerting experience of a well-known American anthropologist, who studied another Pacific group, not dissimilar in linguistic structure, and reported that the people "... speak a language in which nouns become verbs and verbs nouns in the most sleight-of-hand fashion".

J. E. BUSE.

MALAYA—A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC APPRAISAL. By LENNOX A. MILLS. pp. i-ix + 1-234. 30s.

As was to be expected from his former works on Malaya, this appraisal by a former Rhodes' scholar is factual, competent, and fair. Based mainly on reports and articles in the Malayan press, it covers with great lucidity and thoroughness a period of modern history whose final chapter still awaits the material of events. The author writes that "It is not possible to predict whether union at the top will eventually create a single Malayan people", though such a hope is optimistic in the eyes of pessimists who hold that only intermarriage can create a united people. The chapters cover the prewar British period, the changes that led to the independence of the Federation and internal self-government for Singapore, Malaya, Commonwealth Defence, Natural and Synthetic Rubber and Rubber and Taxes. Only the personalities that guided the changes are missing. Even the names of Sir Laurence Guillemard, Sir Cecil Clementi, and Sir Edward Gent are omitted. The great influence of "prominent Malayan civil servants living in retirement" in heartening the Malays to resist the Malayan Union is still known only to a few.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

ANGKOR. Hommes et pierres. By BERNARD PHILIPPE GROSlier. 231 pp. B. Arthaud, 1956.

The 231 pages of this book comprise some 137 plates, six in colour, together with maps and an account of the history, art, and civilization of the Khmers by the son of George Groslier, the well-known pioneer in

Cambodian archæology. The photographs, a few of them taken by M. Groslier but most of them by M. Jacques Arthaud, are superb, alike from the clarity of their details and the artistic sensitivity that has led to their selection. Working on the material of George Cœdès and Philippe Stern, the commentator, M. Groslier, a pupil of René Grousset, has aimed at explaining the social organization and religious ideas that led to the building of the temples of Angkor.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

India, Pakistan and Ceylon

UNE SOUS CASTE DE L'INDE DU SUD. By LOUIS DUMONT. pp. 460.
International University Booksellers, Store Street, London, 1975.
£3 2s.

This description of the Pramalai section of the Kallar tribe of Southern India deals fully with its social and religious organization.

The tribe has some historical interest as representing the "fierce cobberies" of Orme's military transactions of the eighteenth century. They had the satisfaction of handling roughly in 1755 a British military force which they alleged had robbed their temples. Readers of Orme will, however, remember their chief or "Tondiman" who rendered steady assistance in the way of supplies to the British in their contest with the French at that period. The descendants of the Tondiman, as Maharajas of Padukota, ruled the only Indian State held by the Kallars. The name of Kallar, however, signifies "Thief" and the tribe was not a military one like the Maravars or "killers". They were well known for their predatory habits, and as they specialized after the manner of Indian Castes, especially as stealers of cattle.

The tribe has a tradition of comparatively recent immigration from the North of India, and its members have always maintained their independence, particularly of the Brahminical influence which has been so powerful in Madras. They have marked differences from the other Hindu castes or tribes. It has been believed by some authorities that they show traces of polyandry, but this is not accepted by the present writer. They certainly, however, practise the rite of circumcision. It is assumed by the author that they adopted this custom from the Mussulmans but the fact that the terms used in the ceremony have no Muhammadan connection would seem to suggest some other origin.

In such customs as widow remarriage and the burial of their dead they differ markedly from their Hindu neighbours. They are notoriously poor cultivators. In the Madras districts of Madura and Tanjore in which they are principally found cultivation has been greatly improved by irrigation but the Kallars have taken little advantage of this. They supply the watchmen and local guardians of the villages, but,

as their principal usefulness in this respect is the recovery of cattle stolen by their fellow tribesmen, this form of livelihood has an aspect of blackmail. Their addiction to thieving habits necessitated the application to them of the Criminal Tribes Act from 1920 to 1947. The inauguration of self-government in India led to the withdrawal of this measure but the local authorities have since found it necessary to introduce a Habitual Offenders Act for their benefit. Their rules for marriage, which are strictly observed, are fully and clearly described in this book. As the tribe has an exceptionally large rate of increase, there does not appear to be any likelihood of their being merged in the general population.

P. R. CADELL.

APPROACH TO REALITY. By ANANT GANESH JAVADEKAR. pp. x + 194. Oriental Institute Baroda, 1957.

This study in the various approaches to reality is the first of a new series sponsored by the University of Baroda. In a true Indian manner of traditional *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, Collection of all Views, the author gives a survey of all Western and Indian approaches to the problem of knowledge and, after the refutation of the preceding stand-points, proffers his own critical judgment. In a way, however, this *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha* breaks new ground. It is not actually an elimination of the earlier by the later systems, but rather complementary. The treatment is less exclusive than inclusive. This book surveys all possible ways of knowledge expounded through the ages all over the world.

The author makes it clear that he does not confine himself to the standpoint of traditional Indian philosophy only (though in the end his own postulate is gained by traditional Indian trends of thought). The first part of this book deals with disagreement among philosophers and tries to show its inevitable necessity from the cultural, economic, historical, and social conditions of each single philosopher's outlook. Then follows the chapter on the relationship between the knower and the known. Here the author mentions the "hurdles", psychological or otherwise, which have to be overcome for an all-comprehensive attainment of truth. Another chapter deals with the approach of formal logic, which he asserts by itself can provide only partial knowledge. In the same manner he treats the sociological approach which in the end has to be supplemented by the ethical presuppositions of knowledge. And yet, in true Indian manner, the author suggests that still other potentialities for gaining truth must be visualized. Again, it is the breadth of Indian thinking which induces him to complement the affirmative by the negative, the internal by external conditions for gaining knowledge. From them all combined the fullness (*pūrṇatva*) of ideal knowledge can be gathered.

In his ethical section the author claims that not only perception and reasoning, but also the intuitive vision of the mystic and that of the scientist have to be taken into account. This chapter contains more Sanskrit quotations than the preceding ones. Here are passages from the Upaniṣads, from the Yoga-sūtras and from the Bhakti-texts though, as the author rightly points out, the West also in some period or another has developed supra-rational approaches to the problem in hand. It is wholeness which is the ultimate aim of knowledge. Truth is not bound to historical, i.e. momentary, actuality alone. Truth can be gained only through the combination of various facets. The personality of the philosopher, the agent in the act of knowledge, counts for him most. However, this agent is again seen in an Indian context. The author advocates the Yogic ideal of cosmic width. The ideal philosopher, just like the perfected Yogin, has to insert himself into the objective world of the cosmos. This is Yogic ethical purification : the non-attachment, *asanga*, towards personal likes and dislikes, the sublimation of egoistic and egotistic tendencies, the overcoming of personal vanity and dictatorial judgment. It is only humility and objective insight into the ideal of the Whole that leads near to the only indirectly approachable ideal of truth with its complexity and all-comprehensiveness.

While this width and objectivity of method is acceptable to all seekers of wisdom (philo-sophy), some personal objections are of less account. For instance, the reviewer cannot quite follow the author's interpretation of Rgveda 10, 129, where the "deva" *arvāg visarjanena*, the god later than the world-emanation, is not omniscient. How can he be taken as the true "Real" ? Here the god is only a partial and restricted reality and not the full Real. And does the term "real" actually cover the contents of this book ? In his expositions the author mostly deals with Truth and Knowledge. The student of Sanskrit can more easily follow him here than the Western philosopher. The identification of reality and truth lies in the literal translation of the Sanskrit word *sat-yam* which combines both, being or reality and—secondarily—truth.

On the whole, one can congratulate the author and the Baroda University on this study of Eastern and Western thinking and on the emphasis laid on its complementary rather than its controversial aspects.

BETTY HEIMANN.

TATTVA-DARŚANA, with the Manorama Commentary. By ACARYA JWALA PRASAD. Part I (Knowledge and Reality), with the English Translation, pp. 69 (Sanskrit Text) ; pp. xv, 58 (English Text). Shri Shivaji Loka-Vidyapitha Publication, No. 1.

There are definite signs of a renaissance of India's tradition after the

Western impact. First, there is a linguistic renaissance. The President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, convenes at regular intervals in the different regions of India Sanskrit Vishva Parishads, Sanskrit Congresses, at which current problems are discussed in Sanskrit, India's holy language, though at these meetings English is still used as the second national idiom.

Another sign is the production of the film "Father Panchali", where without any dramatic highlights or aesthetic embellishments, the drabness of the timeless everyday life of a Bengali peasant family in a lonely outstation is shown. To export this kind of undiluted realism to the West was needed the self-assurance of modern India.

A third sign of an Indian renaissance is evident in the book of the Maharaja of Mysore (Allen and Unwin). His *Dattātreyā* is a gift of uncompromising devotion to his chosen deity—again without concessions to Western tastes and views.

These linguistic, social, and theological signs of a genuine Indian traditional revival are now implemented by an attempt at a philosophical renaissance. Dr. Jwala Prasad has ventured to write his own Tattva-Darsana (Viewpoint of fundamental Truth). In traditional Indian manner he writes *sūtras* (Aphorisms) to which he himself adds his Commentary, in Sanskrit and English. His is the first attempt at a modern reconstruction of traditional Indian philosophy. It contains a short First Topic on the Nature of Philosophy, then ones on the Valid Means of Knowledge, on the Nature of Knowledge, the Relation between Language and Knowledge, Objects of Knowledge, the Nature of Objects of Knowledge, the Ultimate Principle of the Universe, the Nature of the World, and the Nature of Deity.

In the traditional Indian method all these fundamental questions of philosophy are outlined here ; further investigations of the problems of Ethics and Psychology are promised to follow. This revival of traditional Indian thought, it is true, has gone through the preparatory stage of investigating Western philosophical problems. From this new standpoint some moderations of traditional Indian treatment are advocated. Dr. Prasad suggests a simplification of the manifold subdivisions of Indian syllogism and *pramānas*, canons of truth. This simplification, however, means sacrificing and effacing some basic divergencies which India has rightly stressed.

A further change of the traditional Indian outlook is suggested for the *Māyā* theory. The empirical world is not an illusion as it is in the opinion of some extreme Vedāntins and Buddhists. *Māyā* is a reality, though a transitory one. If phenomena, events, and persons have no significance, then the basis for the ethics of social service is removed, so our philosopher claims. However, only very few extremists of Indian extraction have ever denied the reality of the empirical world. In Indian tradition, and even with these extremists, there still remained

the ethical responsibility of individual *Karma* and its far-reaching consequences. Thus even this deviation from traditional thought, as suggested by the present author, was actually unnecessary. Even Indian tradition leaves room for ethical obligation and social service.

In his Topic on Deity the ancient Indian standpoint is characteristically preserved. Dr. Prasad claims that each *iṣṭa-devatā*, each favourite deity, is but a personal means of satisfaction (*tuṣṭi*) or rather elevation, each only being one of relative value and of subjective import.

This new, and so old, venture is stimulating and promising.

BETTY HEIMANN.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA. (Being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhī, fifth to eighth centuries A.D.) By KRISHNAKUMARI J. VIRJI. pp. vi + 354, 2 plates, 3 maps. Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay, 1952. Rs. 22.8.

This detailed study of an important dynasty of Western India meets a long-felt need. It contains a full and thorough account of the political history of the Maitrakas, as far as it can be reconstructed from the existing sources, chiefly copper-plate and stone inscriptions, together with a section on the cultural history of Gujarat in the Maitraka period, much of which consists of generalities applying to India as a whole and might have been omitted to save space. The work concludes with a valuable survey of the geography, or rather topography, of the region under Maitraka rule.

Dr. Virji's study of political history is excellent, and gives a clearer picture of the vicissitudes of the dynasty than any previous work. As a whole, however, it contains a number of naïve errors, especially in the introductory chapter giving the previous history of the region and in some of the chapters on social history. Thus Candragupta Maurya is said to have "defeated Seleukos Nikator . . . and after that turned north-west and annexed Kāthiawād" (p. 2). This implies that Seleukos in his attack on India penetrated to the Deccan. There was no Indo-Greek king Soter I, the son of Menander (p. 5). Here the authoress means Strato I, and her error is evidently due to a faulty memory and ignorance of Greek. On p. 176 the Sthavira school of Buddhism is said to be a branch of Mahāyāna. Certain statements, moreover, show a rather unscholarly imposition of modern categories upon the past. Thus we read of primary and secondary schools (p. 211) and of postgraduate university studies under the Maitrakas (p. 214). Some statements seem to spring from an over-optimistic enthusiasm for the subject. Thus in the chapter on administration we are told that "neither in ancient nor in medieval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government". A cursory glance at the one

surviving chronicle of a Hindu kingdom of the period, the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, will prove the contrary.

The work is quite well produced and the English is clear and correct, but there are many misprints, especially in the transliteration of Sanskrit words. Much of the book is of real value but trouble and expense might have been saved by the omission of most of the second part, which is almost useless.

A. L. BASHAM.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF NORTHERN INDIA IN THE GUPTA PERIOD (c. A.D. 300-550). By SACHINDRA KUMAR MAITY. pp. xviii + 223, with a map and one illus. The World Press, Calcutta, 1957. Rs. 12.50 or 21s.

This is a competent, thorough, and compact investigation of the surviving traces of Indian economic life during an important period, based upon inscriptions, coins, foreign sources, and Indian literature including Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Amara, Varāhamihira, Nārada, and Bṛhaspati. The author admits that the two last may not belong to his period, but they are often very helpful, and they were in contemporary use. Temptation to use sources belonging to distant periods has, on the whole, been resisted. The book would be much referred to even as a mere digest, conveniently arranged; but it is fortunate that, despite the inevitable dryness of some of the contents, the author obviously enjoyed his work, the folk he studied are no strangers to him, and his tone is fresh and vital, sincere without a trace of pseudo-patriotism. We are led through the "land system", revenue, agriculture and connected matters, industry, trade, labour, corporate economic life, currency and money-lending, and some original points are made on the way. To cite random examples, Cunningham's description of Gupta coins is erroneous; the intriguing word *nīvi* (or *nīvī*), "invested capital," is explained; land-measurements are clarified; *malabathrum* is conjectured to be betel-leaf; *bhūmi-chhidra-nyāya* is questionably identified with some right reserved to a grantor; and the State may have had a monopoly in leather. Purchases of land intended for charitable gifts are described with originality (p. 47 *et seqq.*), but some obscurity remains. The king's ultimate lordship of the soil (still denied in India: *JIH.*, xxxv, 1957, 282) is happily substantiated.

With such a range of factual matter some questions must remain without final answer. One wonders how a slave, unable to earn, may yet purchase his freedom (pp. 143, 145); and if gold had so high a purchasing power (p. 173) how did the ritual *dakṣiṇā* system work out? *Gulma* (pp. 66, 91) is probably a police-station, and *kṛpta* may simply mean customarily established revenue-heads. The bull referred to on p. 94 resembles the *vṛṣotsarga* bull, and, if it is he, the motive for

the release is religious. The author's humanity possibly betrays his historical sense when he deprecates a harsh provision of Nārada regarding slaves (p. 143). Professor Basham's Foreword is eloquent and strikingly apt. The book is well printed, and so the price is not excessive.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

OLLARI; A DRAVIDIAN SPEECH. By SUDHIBHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA (Department of Anthropology, Government of India, Memoir No. 3, 1956). pp. x + 78. Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1957.

The author, who collaborated with Professor T. Burrow in *The Parji Language*, Oxford, 1953, has now published this account of another language in the same group. It is spoken by a few hundred persons only in the Orissa tribal area, but has features distinct enough from those of kindred speeches to warrant it claiming the title of language.

Shri Bhattacharya has planned his grammar on familiar lines and although he has included no texts, has illumined his remarks by short phrases, concluding with a comparative vocabulary of some 1,400 words. His book contains much valuable information in a compact form and has been nicely produced.

ALFRED MASTER.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. Edited by V. S. SUKTHANKARA AND S. K. BELVALKAR. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Fascicule 17. H. D. VELANKAR and V. G. PARANJPE, 1956. Fascicule 30. R. N. DANDEKAR, 1956.

Number 17 of this authoritative edition contains the two short books X *The Sauptikaparvan*, edited by Professor Velankar, and XI *The Strīparvan*, edited by Professor Paranjpe, both with introduction and critical notes, as usual of much exegetical value. The former editor classifies his thirty-three manuscripts into eight sub-versions, twenty-four Northern and nine Southern. Professor Paranjpe, who collates from a much larger number of MSS., raises the question whether verses rejected from the canon on the authority of the Southern manuscripts may not in fact be part of the earlier *Mahābhārata* suppressed in process of adjustment, a disturbing thought in the search for the authentic epic. In any case neither of these books as edited carries the long string of rejected episodes sometimes to be found in the appendices to this edition, and the Northern and Southern recensions of the Sauptika, at least, "do not materially differ from each other either in form or extent"; so that these two books can be read with the enjoyment of a more than usual sense of finality. Space precludes much detail; but a significant

feature in the *Strīparvan* is the coincidence of the virtues **Dama Tyāga** and **Apramāda** (XI, 7, 19) with those in the same order on the column of Heliodorus, first noticed apparently by Dr. H. Roy Chaudhury. Is it, as he suggested, a direct reminiscence of the epic (more or less at the time when this was taking written shape) or an ethical commonplace like Faith, Hope, and Charity? On a verbal point there should be no difficulty about rūpānāmīgataṁvapuḥ (note to XI, 20, 31). The connotation for √° of "glow" or "brilliance" rather than shape is common in the epics, e.g. **jājvalyamānaṁ vapoṣā** Ram VI, 108, 7, of an atomic bomb effect with supernatural weapons. Comment on Fascicule 30 is reserved for completion of the Śalyaparvan in number 31, which, with Fascicule 29 will round off the first twelve books of the *Mahābhārata*.

WALTER GURNER.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN "GODS" AND "POWERS" IN THE VEDA. A Propos of the Phrase *Sūnuḥ Sahasah*. By J. GONDA. pp. 107. Mouton and Co., 's-Gravenhage, 1957.

In this short study Professor Gonda deals with one of the basic problems of all theological ideas and he emphasizes rightly its particular significance for early and classical Hindu thought. As the title suggests, the author examines the relationship between personal and impersonal potencies of the Ṛgveda with special reference to Agni's epithet: "Son of Power."

In his methodical investigations a problem of personality is first elucidated. In frequent passages he examines the reciprocal relationship between father and son—interrelated opposites. This problem he views from several angles. He points out that either the mother is the biological pivot of reciprocity between father and son, or else, that the adjectival epithet of the father materializes into a fixed personality, the son. Here are illuminating grammatical observations on the relationship between adjective and noun.

One may recall in this connection the Indian concept of the *vāhana*, the vehicle of a God. His animal counterpart serves to emphasize and to corroborate the divine function under discussion (Śiva and his bull of fertilizing power; Gaṇeśa, the God of wisdom, and his scrutinizing mouse). Thus the personal aspect is extended and underlined by inclusion of the animal's specific faculties.

The *vāhana* is instrumental in emphasizing the specific faculty required. Dr. Gonda therefore rightly translates the instrumental case in his texts always in its full personal meaning and not as an abstract adverb.

As to the relationship between personal and impersonal concepts here, too, the author applies psychological grammar. He touches upon the strange intermixture of the passive and active aspects of a process

which are laid down in Sanskrit grammar. In India—as is evident in the logical examination of agent and material causes—it is the action, the process itself which matters most and the agent is only one of the accessory causes in the realization of the process, the pot is made by the co-operation of the potter, the wheel, the clay, and the donkey which carries the clay to the site.

The author, consistently with the Indian dogma of “*nomen est omen*”, works with the etymological and semasiological interpretations of the names concerned. Especially in semasiology we are still on controversial ground. Thus the opposition to, and interrelation with, *Aditi* and *amhas* (German Enge?) corroborates the derivation of the term *a-diti* from root *dā*, to bind. In addition, the traditional interpretation of *Varuṇa* from root *var*, to cover, is still tenable, as, at any rate, the reviewer thinks. This is confirmed by *Varuṇa*’s cosmic significance as the main guardian of the all-embracing *Ṛta*, the course of Nature. The cosmic law dispenses punishment unconcerned with personal compassion and grace.

According to the special tendency of the scholars concerned the problem of the relationship between persons and impersonal powers is differently stressed—in favour of either the Personal or Impersonal. Believing in the fundamental “It”, the Impersonal, as the essential dogma of India I would sometimes go further than Professor Gonda in giving the impersonal interpretation the priority.

This grand problem of the Personal and Impersonal is rightly seen in a world-wide frame of religious ideas through the ages. Frazer’s *The Golden Bough*, and recent publications on Semitic and Indo-European mythology are here taken into consideration. The latest works on Indian psychological mythology are also examined. The only omission in the author’s erudite list seems to be H. Oldenberg’s *Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa Texte* (Goettingen, 1919), where gods and substances are similarly shown and interpreted in their personal-impersonal co-operation.

The thorough training of the Dutch school, their conscientious examination of all details and careful translations, are again evident in this latest work of Professor Gonda.

BETTY HEIMANN.

HISTORY OF JAINA MONACHISM FROM INSCRIPTIONS AND LITERATURE.

By S. B. DEO. pp. xi + 655. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute. Poona, 1956. (Deccan College Dissertation Series : 17.) Rs. 20.

This book attempts to reconstruct the history of Jaina monachism from literary and inscriptional sources. It contains introductory chapters on the history of Jainism, and on the relation of Jaina

monachism to Indian monachism as a whole, but its main value lies in the very long third section where extracts referring to Jaina monks or nuns from both Śvetāmbara and Digambara sources are set out in detail. In the fourth section the information found about the organization of Jaina monachism in inscriptions is presented.

The work is not free from faults. The bibliography is limited and does not include such authoritarian works as Dr. A. L. Basham's *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (published 1951). In view of the author's reference (introduction, p. ix) to the shortage of critical editions, it is surprising that he seems unaware of some that are available, e.g. of *Āyāraṃga-sutta*, *Kappa-sutta*, and *Ovaṭṭiya-sutta*. As a result his references to the last-named text are so designated that they are unverifiable in the editions of Leumann and Suru. Moreover, the system of reference to some texts is inconsistent, the *Bhagavaī-sutta* being cited by both page and śataka number indiscriminately. Occasionally no detailed reference is given at all, e.g. to the *Thāṇaṃga-sutta* on p. 156.

These are perhaps minor, though irritating points. More serious is the question of the dating adopted for the Śvetāmbara canon. The author decides that as in our present state of knowledge accurate dating of individual texts of the canon is impossible, the same antiquity should be ascribed to all the texts in each particular section. Accordingly he regards the aṅgas as a whole as the oldest part of the canon, though admitting (p. 24) that "parts of the aṅgas are decidedly quite young".

Such a method of dating seems to preclude the establishment of any historical chronology, for it is clearly unscholarly in the case of a text or group of texts made up of material of various ages to date the whole by the date assumed for the oldest part. The date adopted should be that of the youngest. Therefore the *Āvassaya-sutta*, known only in combination with its nijjuttī, should be dated with the other nijjuttīs rather than with the remaining mūla-suttas (p. 25). Nor can it be correct to include a reference from Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Thāṇaṃga-sutta* when dealing with the aṅgas (p. 140).

This book cannot, then, be regarded as a history of Jaina monachism. It will, however, be invaluable as a work of reference when that history comes to be written.

K. R. NORMAN.

Buddhism

BIBLIOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE. Fascicule Annexe XXIII bis. Rétrospective : l'œuvre de Louis de la Vallée Poussin, par MARCELLE LALOU. pp. 37. Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Paris, 1955.

This detailed bibliography of the work of the great Belgian Indologist who died in 1938 contains 324 items, covering a working period of some

forty-seven years. Nearly all these items refer to studies on Buddhism in its many aspects, and from the list the student could hardly realize the great debt of the historian to de la Vallée Poussin for his three invaluable volumes on the history of pre-Muslim India in the *Histoire du Monde* series. Though these take so little space in the list of his works they are surely among the most important. The titles of de la Vallée Poussin's earlier works are accompanied by full bibliographical details, and often also by brief notes on their contents. Those published since the inception of *Bibliographie bouddhique* are given only with cross-references to the earlier volumes of the series where they are first recorded. Item no. 124 contains a cross-reference to "inf. n° 234". This should read "231".

A. L. BASHAM.

Miscellaneous

PREHISTORIC RELIGION. By E. O. JAMES. pp. 300, 14 figs., 3 maps, and 5 charts. Thames and Hudson, 1957. 30s.

This somewhat stereotyped survey of ancient religious practices, based on a conspectus of generally well-known material, may have little to offer to the specialist, but it can be valuable in helping to broaden the outlook of that considerable section of the public now professing an interest in archaeology. For the author uses, as indeed he must, though not very boldly, anthropological evidence to illuminate prehistoric thought. If the extensive treatment of grave furniture, especially of Western megalithic tombs, to throw light on the "cult of the dead" seems disproportionate, this may supply a useful antidote to the too materialistic attitude of the late Professor Gordon Childe who concluded his last book with the pronouncement about these tomb-builders that "their motives, like their emotions, have been lost forever, just because they were illusions. Does that matter?"

Being concerned primarily with the elucidation of European and Near Eastern primitive religion, Professor James uses the "cult of the dead" mainly to supply evidence of belief in survival, rather than of a developed ancestor worship such as he would have found in the Far East. And it is perhaps too much to expect to find any reference to diffusion of Mesopotamian influences to the Orient. Even within his chosen geographical field there are unexpected omissions: while the Neolithic cult of an Earth Mother receives much attention, the significance of the sacred mountain is insufficiently discussed, and the *omphalos* is not even mentioned. The familiar aspects of sky and vegetation cults, mainly on the basis of Egyptian and Mesopotamian evidence, are then passed in review. And when the need arises the author refers succinctly to such controversial questions as totemism, and the

theories of Lévy Bruhl, Durkheim, and Father Wm. Schmidt. Each chapter has a short bibliography and the charts of culture sequences provide a useful visual aid.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

PATTERNS IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By MIRCEA ELIADE. pp. xv + 484. Sheed and Ward, 1958. 25s.

At first sight this excellent English translation (provided with a double index) of the author's *Traité d'histoire des Religions*, might strike the reader as an orthodox treatise on primitive religion. The chapter headings suggest as much: the sky and sky gods; the sun and sun gods; the waters and water symbolism; the earth, woman and fertility; vegetation; agriculture, etc. Moreover the treatment is not historical but sets out to be a study of religious forms. Certainly the wealth of facts, and the immense and well-chosen bibliographies can make it serve as an invaluable text-book. But the author early emphasizes that this is not a work of reference and should be read as a whole. The reader soon discovers the reason. The chapters are intended to show "the sacred revealed at different cosmic levels". The facts adduced are a vehicle for a theory that gradually develops as one proceeds, and culminates in the chapters on "sacred time" and "morphology and function of myths", which recall the author's interesting little book *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. The core of the theory is that virtually every myth and ritual is concerned with restoring "sacred time" by periodically repeating the primeval act of creation. Thus is revealed a primitive human urge to put the clock back, after a period of chaos (orgy), and re-establish paradise here and now. In developing his discussion Professor Eliade has much to say that is stimulating and original, and he deals with concepts and observances which have received insufficient recognition in the past. But when he says "from one point of view every myth is 'cosmogonic'" he reveals a weakness because that is the point of view that is over-stressed in this book. Time and again he forces a cosmic interpretation, as when he asks us to believe that "the hierophany of the earth was cosmic in form before being truly chthonian" (p. 243), when he ignores the evidence that the *omphalos* was a symbol of earth before it was "the centre" (p. 231), and when he urges that the chthonic significance of the circular Greek monuments "must not mislead us" (p. 374). Primitive religion has suffered from being wholly interpreted as solar, as totemic, or in terms of vegetation spirits, and it would be a pity if it now has to pass through a "cosmic" period. There is indeed much to be said for the view of those scholars who have seen cosmology as a secondary and perhaps relatively late aspect of magico-religious culture. Professor Eliade's study

is a valuable contribution to a subject the exact status of which is still *sub judice*. He now promises a companion volume which will deal with the material historically. One may be sure that it will be a no less thought-provoking and absorbing volume.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

THE NEW OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC, Vol. I. ANCIENT AND ORIENTAL MUSIC. Ed. by EGON WELLESZ. pp. i-xxiii + 1-530, and xiv Illustrations. Oxford University Press, 1957. 63s.

It is a pleasant surprise that this ambitious new history of music in eleven large volumes should devote volume I to music which normally does not come to the notice of the Western musician. Some of this music can be revived at will—thanks to gramophone and tape recorder—and in this sense it can be called “alive”, but most of it is lost in spite of many discourses on music preserved in ancient manuscripts.

As its heading implies, the opening chapter on “Primitive Music” attempts to trace the earliest steps of man towards musical achievement. The author, probably the most expert of ethnomusicologists to-day, is forced to rely for this purpose on ethnological theories. This is because his particular musical material cannot be classified with that scientific certainty with which the archaeologists are now accustomed to date their prehistoric finds. Few of Schneider's colleagues subscribe to these theories as unreservedly as he does, but this should not detract from the value of his contribution. In any case it is the first comprehensive essay on primitive music to be published in Britain.

Not the least benefit to be derived from this chapter lies in its 176 musical examples. Only thirty-five of these come from Asia but this is understandable since our interest in Asian music is not so much in the primitive or folk-art of her culture as in the art music of the Far Eastern countries, India, and the Islamic countries, and these are more fully treated in separate sections by L. Picken, A. Bake, and H. G. Farmer. In addition the book offers six contributions on the music of ancient times, especially from the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Many deductions have been made here from a great diversity of sources. One realizes how scanty the evidence is, how confusing philosophical speculation on music has been, and how difficult it has always been to communicate to strangers the feel of one's own music.

This problem not only besets students of the music of the past. One need only recall the confusion surrounding the description of the *śruti* intervals of India to realize how acute these issues are to-day. Bake reminds us that “no mathematical approach to the matter is found in India before the eighteenth century” (p. 206). Bake must have been greatly tempted to give a detailed account of the theories put forward by Daniélou. It is fortunate for the reader that he resisted this

temptation. Bake's discussion of the *raga*, mode, and scale is especially lucid.

Indian music is seen as the "easternmost representative of a large group of interrelated musical phenomena . . ." (p. 195). Picken speaks similarly of the Far Eastern countries as a musically uniform area "to be compared and contrasted with India perhaps on the one hand and Western Europe on the other" (p. 83). Farmer finds that the music of Islam shares in the "mobility" of "the new civilization (i.e. *Islam*) which was to have so vital an influence on the western world" (p. 422), and Professor Egon Wellesz, the editor of this volume, places the Islamic chapter logically at the end of the book.

Picken discusses "cultural interrelations" in some detail in the final paragraph of his contribution. This goes far to explain why ethnomusicologists find their subject exciting, but it does not only concern the specialist: the book contributes to the most urgent problem of our time by placing the main emphasis on the mingling of cultures and the exchanges that took place between them.

K. P. WACHSMANN.

CÉRAMIQUES DE BACTRES. By J. C. GARDIN (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, Tome XV). pp. 131 + 24 plates. Paris, Klincksieck, 1957.

The title of this book is perhaps unduly modest; it is in fact a report on the archaeological reconnaissance of the ruins of Balkh (the ancient Bactra) by the French Delegation in two short campaigns in the spring and autumn of 1947. Balkh is an archaeologist's nightmare; it is an enormous area covered with masses of ruins. Most of these are relatively late; those of the Timurid town of the late middle ages and the earlier (9th to 13th century) Moslem town destroyed by Chinggis Khan cover the earlier remains with layers of great thickness. To add to the archaeologist's discomfort, in the most promising areas, at any rate in the spring, the water table is up to and even about the bottom of the early Moslem town. In an attempt to find a site suitable for systematic excavation no less than seventy-one soundings above 5 feet square were sunk at various points in Balkh itself, and another eleven at a site 20 miles to the west in the spring, and two larger soundings, one 6 metres by 3, and the other (abandoned unfinished) 10 metres square in the autumn. The total bag was disappointing, a fair amount of pottery fragments, most of them very small, a few bits of terra cotta figurines and some very decayed coins. No area worth systematic excavation was located. The main part of the book is a description of these finds. It is a masterpiece of scientific description and analysis. M. Gardin has arranged the various types of pottery in logical series and worked out a chronology for them, and accordingly for the various areas sounded,

which is wholly convincing. It is no fault of his that the whole period covered is so disconcertingly short. Only in one area, the Bala Hissar, was anything found which could be dated to before the Kushan conquest in the 1st century B.C. Of the few coins found the earliest were those of Kanishka. The earliest pottery found on the Bala Hissar may go back to the Macedonian conquest in the 4th century B.C., or at any rate to the period of Graeco-Bactrian rule, although only one fragment of a pot with a broken low-relief portrait of a Graeco-Bactrian prince demonstrably belongs to this period; but they certainly do not go back any distance beyond that. As M. Gardin points out in his "Conclusion", if Balkh is to retain its reputation of being "the Mother of Cities" it will have to do a great deal better than this.

GERARD CLAUSON.

OBITUARIES

JEAN PHILIPPE VOGEL, C.I.E.

The death of Professor Vogel has robbed the world of an able scholar and a great gentleman ; for it is of the man himself and his outstanding qualities that one instinctively thinks first : of his uncompromising honesty and love of truth ; his hatred of anything savouring of cruelty or oppression ; his unselfish disposition and gentle courteous ways ; his slow thoughtful speech and his whimsical humour.

Jean Philippe Vogel was born in Holland in 1871, and studied Sanskrit under Prof. Uhlenbeck at Amsterdam. In 1900 he paid a visit to the East with the idea of following up his studies in India and Netherlands India, but while in India was persuaded to accept a post in the Archæological Department. For most of the next ten years he was Superintendent of the Northern Circle with headquarters at Lahore, and was responsible for the preservation of some of India's most famous monuments, including the magnificent groups of Mughal palaces, mosques and tombs at Lahore and Delhi. Not only did he watch with unremitting care over their repair, but he became no mean authority on their history and architecture, writing among other works a beautifully illustrated monograph on the Tile Mosaics with which Jahangir enriched the outer façade of the Lahore Fort. Vogel's heart, however, was less with the Moslem than with the earlier Hindu and Buddhist antiquities. Several summers he spent in the remote highlands of Chamba State, and the volume in which he described the monuments and antiquities of that region was a model of patient research and scholarship. No less valuable was his exhaustive Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum with its rich collections of sculptures and inscriptions dating from Śaka and Kushān times. To the Annual Reports of the Archæological Department, Vogel also contributed at this time many instructive articles, among the most notable being his "Armenian Inscriptions in Baluchistan", "Tombs at Hinidān in Las Bela", "Buddhist Sculptures from Benares", "A Copper-Plate grant of Bahādur Singh of Kullu", "Kangra Monuments ruined in the Earthquake" (of 1905), "The Mathurā School of

Sculpture", "Nāga worship in Ancient Mathurā", "The Qila'i-Kuhna Masjid at Delhi", "Sacrificial Posts at Īsāpur", "Iconographical notes on the Seven Pagodas", "Temple at Bhitargaon", and "Temple at Mahādeva at Bajaurā".

In 1903 Vogel collaborated with me in excavations at Chārsada, the ancient Pushkalāvati, on the Swat River, and during the next six years did much useful digging on his own at the famous Buddhist sites of Kasiā and Saheth-Maheth—the former scene of the Buddha's death, the latter of his greatest miracle.

For the last two years of his Indian service Vogel officiated as Director-General of Archæology and proved himself at once a capable administrator and, to me, a most loyal friend. Soon after his retirement from India Vogel was appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit at Leyden, and in 1931 became Rector of that great University—an honour of which he was justly proud. But he never forgot his friends in India, his interest in Indian archæology never flagged. As founder and Honorary President of the Kern Institute at Leyden, he published annually its valuable comprehensive Bibliography of Indian Archæology.

On other works published for the most part after his return to Europe an orientalist friend has contributed the following note:—

"After his début (1898) with a Dutch translation of Sūdraka's play, 'The little clay toy-cart' (*Mrichakatika*), Vogel's studies in Sanskrit and Pali literature were concerned mostly with the matter relating to Indian archæology and art. To this group belong his paper (1919) on 'The sign of the spread hand or "five-finger token" in Pali literature', that (1929) on 'The woman and tree or *sālabhañ-jikā* in Indian literature and art', and the handsome illustrated volume (1926) entitled 'Indian serpent-lore or The nāgas in Hindu legend and art'. With these we may associate his more popular Dutch translation (1917) of the Sāvitrī story (in the *Mahā-Bhārata*). The study of the Sanskrit word *tejas*, in the sense of 'magical' or 'mysterious power' (1930) is as an essay in philological interpretation of a more constructive kind. But Vogel's most solid and original work in the linguistic field is contained in the volume (1911), 'Antiquities of Chamba State', and in two articles, 'Shorkot inscription of year 83' and 'Prakrit inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunī-konda', contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vols. XVI, XX-XXI). In the former Vogel had to deal at first hand with a local chronicle and very numerous

inscriptions presenting difficulties in respect of decipherment, dialect, Sanskrit style, history, administrative and other terminology. These problems were handled with sound scholarship by the author, who, besides elucidating the local and dynastic history, gave an elaborate account of the Sāradā script as developed in Chamba and the adjacent regions. The Nāgārjunī-konda inscriptions, more normal in respect of script and language (though with a good number of *notabilia* in terminology, etc.), are important from their early date and the light they shed on dynastic history and Buddhist activity in the south-eastern Deccan. The article entitled 'The Sanskrit *pratolī* and its New-Indian Derivates' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 539-551) is also a good piece of philological-cum-archæological research.

"In his Rectorial address at Leyden (1931) on 'The cosmopolitan significance of Buddhism' Vogel took a glance at 'Greater India'. In concentrating upon Buddhism, the greatest, though not the earliest, factor in the expansion of Indian influence, Vogel laid stress on the link of intercourse through pilgrimages to sacred sites in India. The epigraphical and historical discoveries of French archæologists in Indo-China are recounted at some length in his paper on the Borneo *yupa*-inscriptions."

In 1908 Vogel became a "Correspondent" of the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient*; in 1935 an Honorary Member of the *Société Asiatique*, and in 1937 an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JOHN MARSHALL.

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, C.I.E., who died at the age of 87 on Thursday, 22nd May, 1958, was probably the greatest Indian historian of his generation. Born in the district of Rajshahi, now in Eastern Pakistan, in 1870, he received the whole of his education in Bengal, pursuing his studies at Presidency College, Calcutta, and taking his first degree in English. In 1898 he joined the Indian Educational Service, and taught English and history at his old college, later moving to Patna, where he served for many years as Professor at Government College. In 1917 he became Professor of Indian History at the newly formed Benares Hindu University, returning to Patna after two years. From 1926 to 1928 he was Vice-Chancellor of

Calcutta University, and he long served on the Indian Historical Records Commission. In 1929 he was made a Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire, and, as well as being honoured by numerous universities and learned bodies in his native land, he was an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a Corresponding Member of the Royal Historical Society.

The published volumes of Sir Jadunath cover a period of forty-nine years, from 1901, which saw his first study of the reign of Aurangzib (*India of Aurangzib*), to 1950, when the fourth volume of his *Fall of the Moghal Empire* appeared. Throughout his life the main subject of his studies was the Mughal Empire, especially in its later phases, and his monumental five-volume *History of Aurangzib* (1912-24) and four-volume *Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1932-50), might form sufficient memorials of any great scholar. He had, however, many other works of importance to his credit. Not only did he study the Mughals, but he also devoted much attention to the history of their Maratha enemies, as his *Shivaji and his Times* (1920), and *The House of Shivaji* (1948) bear witness. He collaborated with the Maratha historian Dr. G. S. Sardesai in editing the *Poona Residency Correspondence* (1936-), of which fifteen volumes have so far appeared, and he edited and contributed several chapters to the second volume of the Dacca University *History of Bengal* (1948), as well as producing many other comparatively less important works in English and Bengali.

Sir Jadunath, as well as having a thorough knowledge of all the major Indo-Aryan languages, was well versed in Persian, French, and Portuguese, and fully exploited sources in these languages, as well as, of course, in English. He was indefatigable in his search for fresh historical material, and made many journeys to Maharashtra and Rajasthan for this purpose, as well as visiting the West to study English and European archives. The greatness and importance of his work was largely due to the thousands of unpublished documents of the Mughal period which he was able to bring to light and utilize, bringing to bear upon them a sound historical judgment, unprejudiced by communal, religious, or national sentiment. His English style, if rather old-fashioned by present-day standards, was lucid and correct, and he also wrote with great ability in his native Bengali.

He was an able teacher, and he trained several gifted younger historians, who have continued his researches in Mughal history.

A warm friend, he was an enthusiastic collaborator with other scholars. His later years were marked by great sadness, for of his two sons one was killed in a communal riot at the time of partition, while the other died a few years later. He leaves a widow and two daughters. He is also survived by his old friend and colleague, the venerable Dr. G. S. Sardesai, whose ninety-fourth birthday occurred only five days before Sir Jadunath's death. The last published writing of the great historian is undoubtedly his brief note of greeting to Dr. Sardesai, dated 15th May, 1958, in which, in a clear firm English hand, he quotes the words of Tennyson ¹:

“Since we deserved the name of friends,
And thine effect so lives in me,
A part of mine may live in thee
And move thee on to nobler ends.”

The second half of this quatrain may perhaps be taken as the last message of this great scholar to those who devote themselves to the study of India's past.

A. L. BASHAM.

¹ Reproduced in the periodical *Bhārata-vāṇī*, Poona, 1st June, 1958, p. 5.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Postponed owing to the bus strike, the Anniversary Meeting was held on 1st July with the President, Sir Richard Winstedt, in the chair.

The following Report of Council, 1957-58, was laid before it.

The Society regretted the loss through death of one Foreign Extra-Ordinary Fellow, the Hon. Maulana Abul Kalam Axad, three Honorary Fellows, Professors René Dussaud, J. Ph. Vogel, and Pandit Madho Sarup Vats, and nine Members: Sir John Cumming; Vatasseri Sri Velayudhan Tampi; Professors E. D. Edwards and W. Perceval Yetts; Major C. H. Armbruster, and Messrs. A. H. G. Alston, E. B. W. Chappelow, L. M. Glancy, and Carl T. Keller.

Mr. Y. D. Gundevia and Miss S. I. Goldsmith resigned.

H.E. the High Commissioner for Malaya was elected a Foreign Extra-Ordinary Member. Professor Dr. R. C. Majumdar was elected an Honorary Member.

Forty-nine new Members were elected: Professors C. H. Philips and T. G. Percival Spear; the Rev. Drs. J. P. Grant and Max Wilcox; Drs. K. K. Chakrabarthy, K. A. Faruqi, L. Frank, P. C. Gupta, P. A. Lanyon-Orgill, A. R. Mallick, P. S. Mookerji, S. R. Nizam, and R. Walzer; Sastra Ratnakara T. K. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar; Major D. J. Carr; Wing-Commander H. T. Sutton; Messrs. Usharbudh Arya, K. S. Bailey, E. C. G. Barrett, B. C. Chaudhuri, K. G. Chaudhuri, H. Clayton, Ali M. Fandi, A. R. Field, M. Freedman, C. L. Geddes, F. G. Gilbert-Bentley, A. Godman, Irfan M. Habib, Aziz Hamid, Majed Abdul-Hamid Ja'ouni, A. Khanssa, Alistair Lamb, T. Y. Liu, Vidwan E. Damodara Menon, Syed Hussain Shah, S. J. Shaw, U Ba Shin, Bose Singh, Sri V. Srinivasan, S. C. Sutton, S. K. Verma, Cary S. Welch, A. J. Wightman and O. W. Wolters; Mesdames M. Keegan and Priti Rahman; the Misses I. B. Horner and Lydia Tovey.

Grants.—The Society gratefully acknowledged the following grants for the financial year ending 31st December, 1957: £200 from the Government of India, £100 from the British Academy, £46 from the Federation of Malaya, £37 from the Government of Singapore, and £10 from the Government of Hong Kong.

It was again indebted to the British Academy for £400 payable from the Nuffield Trust for the enlargement of its *Journal*.

Lectures.—Professor D. G. E. Hall lectured on “Henry Burney and the Court of Ava”, Dr. Quaritch Wales on “Angkor Revisited”, Dr. A. Bake on “The Festival of the Red and White Matsyendranath”, Mr. P. J. Honey on “Vietnam: its Cultural, Geographical, and Political Development”, Professor Bernard Lewis on “The Muslim discovery of Europe”, Dr. D. S. Rice on “Deacon or Drink: Some Paintings from Samarra re-examined”, Miss B. de Cardi on “Recent Archaeological Exploration in Baluchistan”, Mr. E. H. S. Simmonds on “New Year Ceremonies at Luang Prabang (Laos)”.

Gifts.—The Society was indebted to Mr. Vivian Gaster for the gift of books and papers from the library of his father, Dr. Moses Gaster. Sir Richard Winstedt presented a copy of a Djakarta MS. of the “Malay Annals” with an unpublished appendix. Mr. W. H. Moreland already a benefactor of the Society, left it £2,297, allocated by the Council to a pension fund for the Staff.

Publications.—*A History of Persia, 1472–1490*, by Professor V. Minorsky, was published as a Monograph, and a Gaster Centenary Publication was edited by Dr. B. Schindler. The publication of a new edition of *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* by Professor Paul Wittek was approved.

Universities Prize Essay.—The following subjects were set: (1) The value of Oriental Studies at the present time or (2) The spread of Cycles of Tales in Asia. There were no competitors.

Miscellaneous.—The following were appointed delegates to the International Congress of Orientalists at Munich: Sir Gerard Clauson (Senior Delegate), Sir Ralph Turner; Professors A. L. Basham, J. Brough, K. A. C. Creswell, and A. S. Tritton; Drs. E. M. Boyce and D. S. Rice and Mr. D. Sinor.

Mr. D. Sinor represented the Society at the General Assembly of the International Union of Orientalists at Munich.

Professor V. Minorsky and Sir Ralph Turner were elected Honorary Members of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.

Officers.—The Council recommended the election of the following:—

President: Sir Gerard Clauson. Director: Sir Richard Winstedt. Hon. Vice-President: Sir Patrick Cadell. Vice-President: Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales. Member of Council: Professor S. H. Hansford. Hon. Officers: Dr. L. D. Barnett (Librarian), Mr. C. C. Brown (Treasurer), Mr. D. Sinor (Secretary).

The following were recommended by the Council as Auditors :—
Professional : Messrs. Price Waterhouse and Co.

Honorary : Mr. H. C. Bowen for the Council and Mr. C. E. J. Whitting for the Society.

The Society was again indebted to its Honorary Solicitor, Mr. D. H. Bramall, M.B.E., T.D., for his services.

The Hon. Treasurer (Mr. C. C. Brown) said that financially 1957 had been a satisfactory year for the Society. Its receipts (£4,545) slightly exceeded those for 1956, and expenditure was only £55 more than in 1956. On the revenue side subscriptions of members had risen by £105 and subscription for the *Journal* and sales of it by £331. Against this had to be set the reduction of the grant from the British Academy by £100 and the omission of rebates on Covenanted Subscriptions, pending a decision of the court on the eligibility of societies like theirs to receive the concession.

What had swelled expenditure was the cost of producing the *Journal*. He understood that other societies were astonished at its size considering the Society's resources. It was to be hoped that the Nuffield grant would be continued, so that it would not be necessary to reduce the number of pages. In all, expenditure for 1957 had exceeded income by £91.

In moving the adoption of the Report, Sir Ralph Turner remarked that after the world war many thought the change in political relations between Great Britain and Asian countries left no place for their Society, which had recruited so many of its members from the overseas services of the Crown, such as the Indian Civil Service. But the number of the Society's members now was actually greater than when those gloomy prognostications were made. And of the forty-nine new members who joined during 1957, while twenty-six lived in Great Britain, the remainder belonged to Asian countries, principally India and Pakistan, where the Society had always been esteemed.

They were grateful for the grants from various governments, but he could not refrain from commenting on the disparity between India's generous grant of £200 and the small sum of £100 received through the British Academy from the British Government. A Society which had done and did so much to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cultural interest between Great Britain and the Asian members of the Commonwealth, not to speak of other Asian countries, deserved a far greater measure of support from Her Majesty's Treasury.

THE SOCIETY'S RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Fellows	478	16	0			
Non-Resident Members	321	6	0			
Students and Miscellaneous	37	11	2			
Compounders	51	15	0	889	8	2
<hr/>						
GRANTS—						
British Academy	100	0	0			
" " Nuffield Trust	400	0	0			
Government of India	200	0	0			
" " Singapore	37	6	8			
" " Malaya	46	0	0			
" " Hong Kong	10	0	0	793	6	8
<hr/>						
RENTS				1,013	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	909	4	8			
Sales of copies and offprints	309	14	10	1,218	19	6
<hr/>						
INTEREST ON INVESTMENTS				528	9	3
INTEREST ON POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNT				13	6	6
ROYALTIES				3	19	9
SALE OF CATALOGUE				11	6	10
SALE OF CENTENARY VOLUME				7	6	
SALE OF "OR. MSS. COLLECTIONS" by J. D. Pearson				6	10	8
SALE OF CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS				24	0	0
SUNDRY RECEIPTS				46	7	0
BALANCE ON 31.12.1956				1,354	10	5
<hr/>						
				£5,903	12	3

GENERAL ACCOUNT INVESTMENTS

£777 1s. 1d. 4% Funding Loan 1960-90.
 £2,396 5s. 3d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-69.
 £4,453 17s. 4d. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £5,000 British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock 1968-73.
 £1,162 17s. 5d. 3½% War Loan.
 £1,149 3s. 11d. 3% Savings Bonds 1965-75.
 £546 6s. 9d. 2½% Funding Stock

COMPOUNDED SUBSCRIPTIONS ACCOUNT INVESTMENT

£924 13s. 2½% Funding Loan 1956-61.
 £998 11s. British Transport 3% Guaranteed Stock 1978-88.

PAYMENTS FOR 1957

PAYMENTS

HOUSE ACCOUNT—				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent and Taxes	.	.	.	350	0	0			
Rates on Flats	.	.	.	184	5	6			
Water Rates	.	.	.	35	11	3			
Gas and Light	.	.	.	171	0	5			
Coal and Coke	.	.	.	177	12	0			
Telephone	.	.	.	26	4	8			
Cleaning	.	.	.	34	10	0			
Insurance	.	.	.	102	19	0			
Repairs and Renewals	.	.	.	263	9	6	1,345	12	4
SALARIES AND WAGES							1,679	0	0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY							94	6	8
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—									
Printing	.	.	.	1,134	0	4			
Postage	.	.	.	31	8	2	1,165	8	6
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE							15	3	2
GENERAL POSTAGE							57	17	7
SUNDRY EXPENSES—									
Teas	.	.	.	54	8	0			
Lectures	.	.	.	24	0	0			
National Health and Insurance	.	.	.	58	8	6			
General	.	.	.	150	0	2			
Audit Fee	.	.	.	5	5	0	292	1	8
BALANCE ON 31.12.1957									
On Current Account	.	.	.	707	6	6			
Cash in hand	.	.	.		4	5			
„ „ Post Office Savings Bank	.	.	.	546	11	5	1,254	2	4
							£5,903	12	3

We have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and report that it is in accordance therewith. We have obtained proper confirmation of the Investments and Bank Balances therein described.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.,

Professional Auditors.

1st August, 1958.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

Countersigned { H. C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Council.
C. E. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.

SPECIAL FUNDS, 1957

				ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND									
RECEIPTS								PAYMENTS					
				£	s.	d.					£	s.	d.
BALANCE, 1/1/57	.	.	.	166	7	1	SUNDRIES	.	.	.	1	0	
SALES	.	.	.	177	16	10	BALANCE, 31/12/57	.	.	.	346	6	5
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	.	.	.	2	3	6							
				<hr/>							<hr/>		
				£346	7	5					£346	7	5

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MONOGRAPH FUND													
BALANCE, 1/1/57	.	.	.	338	8	10	BINDING 100, VOL. XXV	.	.	.	7	0	0
SALES	.	.	.	52	19	4	PRINTING AND BINDING 500, VOL. XXVI	.	.	.	401	8	0
BALANCE, 31/12/57	.	.	.	16	19	10							
				£408	8	0					£408	8	0

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUNDS' BALANCES 31st DEC., 1957

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	.	346	6	5	R.A.S. MONOGRAPH FUND	.	.	16	19	10
					CASH AT BANK—					
					On Current Account	.	269	6	7	
					On Deposit Account	.	60	0	0	329 6 7
				<u>£346 6 5</u>						<u>346 6 5</u>

TRUST FUNDS, 1957

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND													
BALANCE, 1/1/57	.	.	.	.	227	8	9	31/12/57 BALANCE CARRIED TO					
SALES	.	.	.	.	59	8	4	SUMMARY	.	.	.	304	17 1
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	.	18	0	0						
<hr/>													
£304 17 1								<hr/>					
								£304 17 1					

GOLD MEDAL FUND											
BALANCE, 1/1/57	:	:	:	27	5	5	31/12/57	BALANCE	CARRIED	TO	
DIVIDENDS	:	:	:	9	15	0	SUMMARY	:	:	:	37 0 5
				<hr/>							
				£37 0 5							<hr/>
											£37 0 5

UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND														
BALANCE, 1/1/57	.	.	.	43	12	9	PRIZE	.	.	.	.	25	0	0
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	24	14	8	PRINTING	.	.	.	.	3	4	6
INCOME TAX REFUND	.	.	.	2	18	6	31/12/57 BALANCE CARRIED TO					43	1	5
							SUMMARY	.	.	.	.
				£71	5	11						£71	5	11

DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT												
BALANCE, 1/1/57	.	.	.	370	12	4	31/12/57 BALANCE CARRIED TO					
DIVIDENDS	.	.	.	5	14	3	SUMMARY	.	.	.	380	5 10
INCOME TAX REFUND	.	.	.	3	19	3						
				£380	5	10					£380	5 10

STAFF PENSION FUND												
BALANCE OF LEGACY (W. H. MORELAND, DECEASED)						69	18	5	31/12/57 BALANCE CARRIED TO			
DIVIDENDS						46	0	4	SUMMARY	115	18	9
						<hr/>						
						£115	18	9			<hr/>	£115 18 9

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES, 1957

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	304	17	1	31/12/57 CASH AT BANK ON	881	3	6
GOLD MEDAL FUND	37	0	5	CURRENT ACCOUNT			
UNIVERSITIES' PRIZE ESSAY FUND	43	1	5				
DR. B. C. LAW TRUST ACCOUNT	380	5	10				
STAFF PENSION FUND	115	18	9				
	£881	3	6		£881	3	6

TRUST FUND INVESTMENTS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Prize Publication Fund) ("B" account).			
£325 Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Gold Medal Fund) ("A" account).			
£645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3% Irredeemable Stock (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).			
£40 3½% Conversion Loan (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).			
£229 16s. 9d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75 (Universities Prize Essay Fund) ("B" account).			
Rs. 12,000 3% Government of India Conversion Loan 1946 (Dr. B. C. Law Trust Account).			
£325 4% Consolidated Stock (Staff Pension Fund)			
£912 10s. 3½% Conversion Stock			
£175 Plymouth Corporation 3½% Redeemable Stock 1972-82			
£735 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70			
£150 4% Victory Bonds			

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND, 1957

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
BALANCE 1/1/57	3 13 4	31/12/57 CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT	5 2 7
DIVIDENDS	16 11	ACCOUNT	
INCOME TAX REFUND	12 4		
	£5 2 7		£5 2 7

INVESTMENT

£48 16s. 9d. 3% Funding Loan 1959-60

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND, 1957

BALANCE, 1/1/57	870 18 5	SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES—	
SALES	86 8 0	1 Scholarship	150 0 0
DIVIDENDS	197 17 8	2 Exhibitions	100 0 0
INCOME TAX REFUND	11 15 6	COMMISSION ON SALES, 1956	6 7 0
SCHOLARSHIP AWARD RETURNED	150 0 0	POSTAGE	8 2
INTEREST ON P.O. SAVINGS BANK	10 18 0	BALANCE—	
		CASH AT BANK ON	
		CURRENT ACCOUNT 623 15 5	
		CASH IN P.O. SAVINGS	
		BANK	447 7 0 1,071 2 5
	£1,327 17 7		£1,327 17 7

FORLONG FUND INVESTMENTS

£2,017 11s. 3d. 3% Savings Bonds 1960-70.
£1,217 2s. 8d. 3% Treasury Stock.
£700 3½% Conversion Loan ("A" account).
£253 18s. 4d. 3½% War Loan ("A" account).
£1,051 8s. 7d. British Electricity 3% Guaranteed Stock, 1968-73.
£923 7s. 7d. 3% Savings Bonds, 1965-75.
£500 4% Defence Bonds.

We have examined the above Abstracts of Receipts and Payments with the Books and Vouchers of the Society, and report that they are in accordance therewith. We have obtained proper confirmation of the investments and Bank Balances therein described.

PRICE WATERHOUSE & CO.,
Professional Auditors.

3 Frederick's Place, Old Jewry, E.C. 2.

1st August, 1958.

Countersigned { H. C. BOWEN, Auditor for the Council.
C. E. J. WHITTING, Auditor for the Society.

Many of the Society's members were actively engaged in fulfilling its function of conducting research into the history and civilizations of Asia. And there remained many exciting discoveries to be made. Quite lately one of its members, Dr. Lang, had brought back from Russia photographs of MS. leaves in Kharoṣṭhī script of the North-Western Dhammapada which had been there for many years unexamined. And only yesterday Professor Morgenstierne, one of their Honorary Members, had informed him that the French Mission in Afghanistan had discovered a rock inscription near Kandahar containing a Greek version of an edict of Aśoka, Πιοδασις.

In seconding the adoption of the Report, Colonel Garstin remarked that the Society was holding its own among the manifold changes in the spirit and circumstances of the age. They were grateful for the grants received from the various governments and he understood that the absence of one from Pakistan in the Report did not mean that that country had ceased to implement its promise of £50 a year in perpetuity. The grant from the British Academy certainly struck one as niggardly. There had been no entrants for the Universities Prize Essay competition, a fact that at one moment had suggested to him the possibility of entering the lists himself until he learnt that the regulations made him fifty years too late.

Their Society was often considered too formidably learned and Orientalists too remote from the interests of the average European. But one of the Society's members, Professor K. A. C. Creswell, had written "A short account of Early Muslim Architecture" for the Pelican series, of which 10,500 copies had been sold in two months.

He would like to pay a tribute to the indefatigable part played by their retiring President in voluntarily assisting to administer the affairs of the Society in spite of his Johnsonian labours of recent years in the field of Malay lexicography and other Malay studies. The Society was indebted, as usual, to Mrs. Davis, their Secretary, for untiring devotion in conducting the correspondence and keeping the accounts and to Miss Nielson for her unfailing courtesy and patient attention to the needs and queries of readers in the Library.

The Report was passed unanimously.

The President said that the meeting had been twice postponed owing to the bus strike—a strike that reminded him of an example of Oriental wisdom which he witnessed in Malaya half a century ago.

There was a royal procession. In front came the ruler in a Rolls-Royce. Behind it came a carriage and pair, behind the carriage a richly caparisoned elephant, behind the elephant a bullock cart, and in the rear loyal followers ready to carry His Highness on their shoulders if the more modern means of conveyance failed.

Fortunately their loyal staff lived near enough to attend with some inconvenience and keep the premises open, but it was feared perhaps pessimistically that for an Anniversary Meeting there might not be a quorum. Hence the postponement. It involved of course a breach of the Society's rules, but those rules were framed when members could walk or ride comfortably to their premises off Bond Street.

The past year was for the Society uneventful : in other words it almost made ends meet. And it received a legacy from the late Mr. Moreland which had increased its capital. It had heard, too, that on the death of several beneficiaries it will receive a legacy from another deceased member. Its membership increased slightly and the list of foreign universities that buy its *Journal* was longer than ever. Orientalists could always count on a fit audience though few, the perennial fear being lest the few should not be enough to support an independent Society, when the cost of printing and building rose but subscriptions could not well be increased.

It was 180 years since Dr. Johnson declared that a visit to the Great Wall of China would reflect lustre on a man's children and raise them to eminence. Nowadays the target of the ambitious was the moon. With such a rival attraction it could not be claimed that many shared what Boswell called noble ambition in Dr. Johnson, who when he got a pension, exclaimed, " Had this happened twenty years ago I should have gone to Constantinople to learn Arabic as Pococke did." A recent review praising Professor Arberry's indefatigable efforts to familiarize English-speaking peoples with Persian literature ended by lamenting how few there were prepared to take the trouble to adapt themselves to the climate of an Eastern culture. Yet there were still enthusiasts as eager to unravel a Sanskrit root or a Chinese ideograph as was Browning's grammarian " dead from the waist down " to settle the import of a Greek enclitic. He was glad to say that he knew no Orientalist " dead from the waist down " but he did know of one who got appendicitis in Nepal, was flown to Calcutta for an operation, and then returned to Nepal to prosecute his research. He could not say if it were due to Sir Ralph Turner's

great Nepalese dictionary but Nepal to-day seemed to have become a suburb of Malet Street. One member of their Council drove there and back in his car. Another member of the School of Oriental and African Studies tramped with his wife from Nepal for thirty-five days till they reached Darjeeling over country 18,000 feet high. Prodigious ! one felt, quite prodigious, rivalling the achievements of Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo.

Unlike their predecessors, Orientalists to-day had before them two fields of research, one the old field of traditional culture which had to be explored now or never before it passed, the other the effect of the new wine of a scientific and political age poured into bottles as old as Abraham or Confucius.

It was pleasing to reflect that European and Asian scholars were tackling these problems together. It was pleasing to see that of their members nearly one-third were Asians. It was pleasing that the Governments of India, Pakistan, and Malaya thought so highly of their work that they made them annual grants. It was not so pleasing to think of the number of Orientalists in the Universities of Great Britain who did not join the Society, though their small subscriptions could be deducted from taxable income.

With small means the Society had done wonders. It maintained a large library used through the National Central Library by many non-members. It had published a journal for 124 years. It advocated and popularized a uniform system of romanized spelling, indispensable for the prosecution of linguistic studies and adopted by several Asian governments. It moved the Government of India to start the Indian Records Series so valuable for the historian. As far back as 1894 the Society advocated the promotion of Oriental Studies in the universities and the foundation of a School for Oriental Studies in London.

For the third time he retired from the office of President, and was glad to know that his successor was to be Sir Gerard Clauson who was not only a scholar but an experienced administrator.

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